

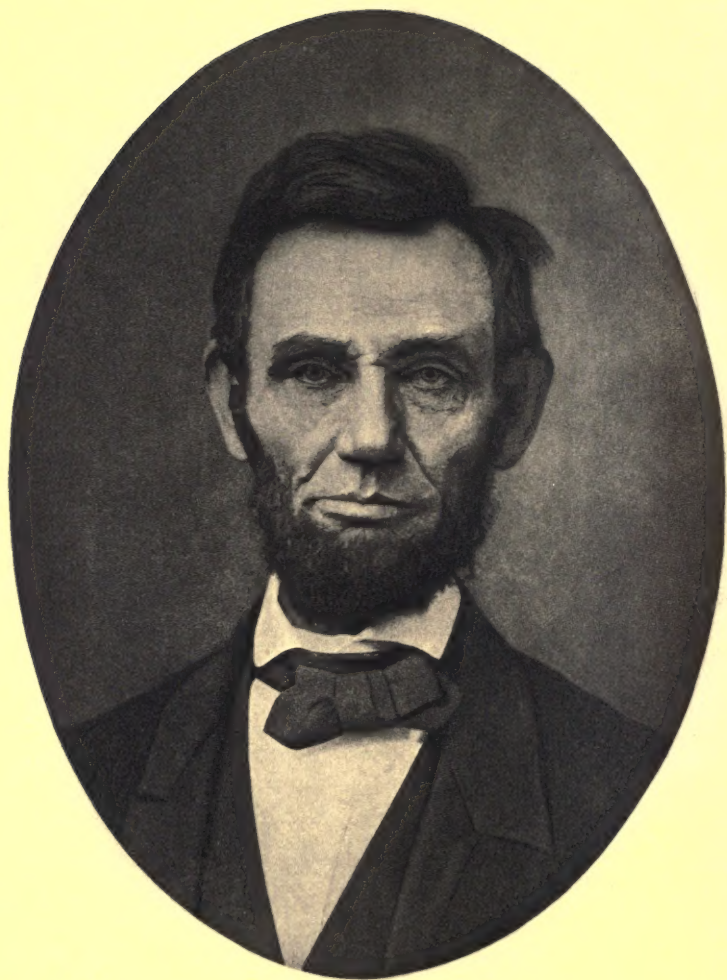




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A. Lincoln

HISTORY
OF THE
STATE OF NEW YORK
POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL

EDITED BY
RAY B. SMITH



NATIONAL PARTY PLATFORMS

BY
WALTER W. SPOONER

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FOREWORD

In a republic the established principles and policies of government are determined by the people. In the United States, since 1832 when government by political parties had become firmly established, such determinations have been made upon issues presented to the electors by two dominant political parties through declarations of principles or platforms adopted and promulgated by their chosen representatives acting at conventions. The official records of these conventions constitute the original sources of information relative to the issues presented for determination.

In revising the matter contained in the preceding volumes, it became necessary to examine the official records of the National party conventions. To my intense surprise I found that but one attempt had been made to collect and preserve these records in permanent published form. Of this collection, printed some thirty years ago, but one copy appears to be extant and its manifest inaccuracies rendered it useless. Consequently I sought to procure, so far as possible, an official copy of the original journal of each National convention and to perpetuate an authentic record of each such party platform. Through the aid of friends, this result has been accomplished. With one exception, each convention record contained in this volume has been compared *verbatim* with the original certified by the secretary of the body from which it emanated. In this one case the text herein contained is taken from an

original copy published under the authority of the central committee appointed by the convention. It and all others may be regarded as authentic and official. Concededly the National party platforms express in concise form the consensus of divided public opinion upon the important then pending governmental issues, formulated by the ablest men and minds of the times, men who have not written history but who have made history. This collection of original National party convention records is now the property of the Legislative Library of the State.

In this volume will also be found an accurate account of the various fortunes of our political parties; a complete record of the electoral vote cast by each state at each presidential election; the popular vote cast wherever authentic records of the same are available; including a consecutive account of the various phases of the slavery question, as evidenced by party deliverances and acts, dating from the Missouri Compromise in 1820 to the adoption of the fifteenth amendment.

This is the only published work devoted to subjects so vital to an intelligent understanding of our National history. The privilege of preserving in authentic published form the expressed principles of the controlling political parties in the mighty conflicts waged for supremacy in our country, destined to be the most powerful governmental influence in the world, is to me a reward commensurate with the stupendous amount of labor involved.

R. B. S.

Inaccuracy of citation is one the chief vices of our political discussions. You can hardly listen to a set speech, even from a well-informed and truthful canvasser, which is not marred by some misapprehension or unconscious misstatement. . . . Documents, heedlessly read and long since lost or mislaid, are quoted from with fluency and confidence, as though with indubitable accuracy, when the citations so made do gross injustice to their authors, and tend to mislead the hearer. . . . To verify and correct the citations of a frothy declaimer is sometimes the easiest and most convincing refutation of his speech.—Horace Greeley, *Political Text-Book for 1860*.

PART I

EARLY PARTIES, 1789 TO 1828

IT was not until more than forty years after the establishment of the constitutional government of the United States that the convention system of nominating Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates and declaring party principles was regularly instituted. Under the Confederation—the loose union, or rather association, of the original States which preceded the adoption of the Constitution in 1788,—there existed no basis for anything resembling formal party organization and discipline so far as the country at large was concerned. After the Federal government came into being two national parties sprang up—the Federalist, comprising those who favored the maximum concentration of power in the central government and generally conservative and aristocratic ideas advocated by such statesmen as Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and John Jay; and the Democratic-Republican, or, as it presently came to be known, Republican, consisting of the supporters of “State rights” and positive democratic principles and measures according to the doctrines of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and George Clinton. These two original national parties throughout their existence maintained themselves before the public by the force of their dominating men, without ever resort-

ing to the instrumentality of a platform declarative of fundamental tenets.

The Federalist party, at first in the ascendancy, soon became decadent, and at the time of the close of the second war with Great Britain (1815) was almost completely extinct as a national political factor. The Republican party,¹ succeeding to the control of the government in 1801, from that time carried every national election as long as it retained its original name and unity; and after the disappearance of the Federalist organization it continued without opposition, in the respect of having any formally established competitor, until its disruption during President John Quincy Adams's administration (1825-29). A new creation and division of parties then occurred, one of the resulting organizations assuming the name of Democratic party, and its opponent taking the style of National Republican party, later changed to Whig party. From the Presidential campaign of 1832 dates the formulation of specific party precepts and issues through the medium of popular conventions.

The succeeding pages will embody a complete presentation of the national platform deliverances of the

¹This name was assumed by the Jeffersonians as the one that they considered most conveniently descriptive of their theory and program of government. Their ideas being positively opposed to aristocratic tendencies of government, they named themselves Republicans. Even in those times, however, they were frequently called Democrats, and the two names became generally interchangeable. Some writers prefer to substitute the name Democratic for this early organization, in recognition of its historical identity with the Democratic party as officially so styled in Jackson's day and as still claiming the same lineal descent.

principal parties from the 1832 campaign to the present time.

During the period antecedent to 1832 the positions of parties, although not expressed in platforms, were nevertheless well defined in the respects of fundamental ideas of government and public policy, characteristic leadership, and cohesion or the lack of it under such management as was improvised in their behalf. A review of this period is indispensable to the historical fullness of our records of party action.

The first three Presidential elections not only were unattended by political declarations, but were devoid even of any ceremony of party stipulation to members of the Electoral College as to the candidates to be voted for. The general agreement of the political leaders was considered a sufficient basis of choice. At these first three elections (as also at the fourth) the President and Vice-President were chosen by the Electoral College under Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution, which directed each Elector to vote for two persons, the one receiving the highest number of votes to be President and the one receiving the next number to be Vice-President. The first two elections (1789¹ and 1792) resulted in the choice of George Washington as President without competition. It is from the second-choice votes that the political preferences of the people on those occasions are to be deduced.

¹The first Presidential Electors were chosen by the States on the first Wednesday in January, 1789, and the Electors cast their votes on the first Wednesday in February. New York, Rhode Island, and North Carolina did not vote.

1789

In 1789, 69 second-choice Electoral votes were cast, of which John Adams, Federalist, received 34, the remainder being divided among ten other persons. At that time there was no division on political party lines. The responsible founders of the government called themselves "Federalists," because they represented the dominant forces in the Constitutional convention. Those not affiliated with them were generally known as "Anti-Federalists"; the Democratic-Republican party of opposition to the Federalists did not begin its career until 1791. The scattering votes for Vice-President in 1789 were expressive of local preferences in the States. But the consolidation upon Adams of a sufficient number to give him a long lead over any competitor indicated a decided sentiment in favor of organizing the government in conformity to Federalist ideas. This sentiment was also manifest from the political composition of the first Congress: Senate—Administration, 17; Opposition, 9; House—Administration, 38; Opposition, 26.

1792

In 1792, both the Federalist and Republican parties having become established, a general agreement of the leaders of each on the question of the Vice-Presidency was arrived at, to which the Electors conformed with but few exceptions. John Adams received the entire Federalist vote, 77, and was elected. The rising power of the Republicans was shown by their vote of 50 for George Clinton, with, in addition, 4 for Thomas Jeffer-

son and 1 for Aaron Burr. This election proved, however, the only instance of popular acceptance of the amiable plan of "general agreement" in the matter of party selections. A convincing demonstration of its futility was afforded in the contest of 1796.

1796

During that year President Washington informed the country of his decision not to accept a third term; but the announcement came late (it was made in his Farewell Address, dated September 17), and, as the system of national nominations, even by caucus, had not yet been devised, the Electors acted without any more binding obligations than those that they felt were owing to the prevailing sentiment in their several States and to the particular dominating leaders whom they severally favored. It was well understood that the Federalists in general desired the election of John Adams as President and Thomas Pinckney as Vice-President; and that the majority of the Republicans favored Thomas Jefferson for the Presidency and Aaron Burr for the Vice-Presidency. Under the constitutional plan for double votes by the Electors, however, the balloting took a wide range, with the result that Adams stood first, with 71 votes, and Jefferson second, with 68, and were elected, respectively, President and Vice-President. It is interesting to note the remaining votes, all of which counted as choices for President in the first instance and then for Vice-President. They were:—Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, 59; Aaron Burr, of New York, 30; Samuel Adams,

of Massachusetts, 15; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, 11; George Clinton, of New York, 7; John Jay, of New York, 5; James Iredell, of North Carolina, 3; George Washington, 2; John Henry, of Maryland, 2; Samuel Johnston, of North Carolina, 2; Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, 1. This extraordinarily mixed outcome, satisfactory to neither party and presaging misadventure for all future political calculations unless steps to prescribe and assure party regularity should be taken, led to the invention of the first nominating system for President and Vice-President—that by Congressional caucus.

Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798-99

After the advent of the Republican party in 1791, that organization at once developed formidable strength. It controlled the House of Representatives in the Third Congress (1793-95), and lacked only two votes of a majority in the next-elected House (1795-97). But throughout John Adams's administration (1797-1801) the Federalists enjoyed full power in all branches of the government, which they exercised with the greatest positiveness in the partisan respect; it became a common saying of their opponents that they were "drunk with power." The outstanding result was the enactment of the famous Alien and Sedition laws (1798). In view of those measures and of the general Federalist policy favoring a strongly centralized government, the leaders of the Republicans decided on declarations affirmative of the reserved rights of the States under the Constitution as interpreted by them.

Jefferson and Madison accordingly prepared drafts of resolutions which, respectively, were submitted to the Kentucky and Virginia Legislatures.

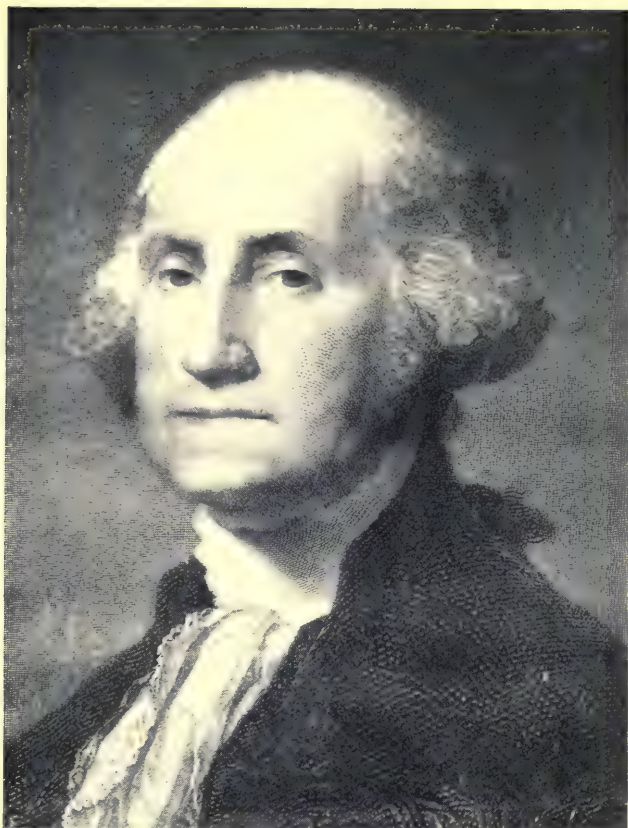
Jefferson's resolutions were changed in certain respects by the Kentucky Legislature and then adopted (November, 1798). As altered they were:

"1. *Resolved*, That the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government, but that by compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States, and of amendments thereto, they constituted a general government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving, each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whensoever the general government assumes undelegated powers its acts are unauthorized, void, and of no force; That to this compact each State acceded as a State and is an integral party, its co-States forming, as to itself, the other party; That the government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers,—but That, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

"2. *Resolved*, That the Constitution of the United States having delegated to Congress a power to punish treason, counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States, piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the laws of nations, and no other crimes whatever, and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared, that 'the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the United States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people,'—therefore, also, the same act of Congress passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, and entitled 'An act in addition to the act entitled an act for the punishment of certain crimes

against the United States,' as also the act passed by them on the 27th day of June, 1798, entitled 'An act to punish frauds committed on the Bank of the United States' (and all other their acts which assume to create, define, or punish crimes other than those enumerated in the Constitution), are altogether void and of no force, and that the power to create, define, and punish such other crimes is reserved and of right appertains solely and exclusively to the respective States, each within its own territory.

"3. *Resolved*, That it is true as a general principle, and is also expressly declared by one of the amendments to the Constitution, that 'the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people,' and that no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press being delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, all lawful powers respecting the same did of right remain and were reserved to the States or to the people; that thus was manifested their determination to retain to themselves the right of judging how far the licentiousness of speech and of the press may be abridged without lessening their useful freedom, and how far those abuses which cannot be separated from their use should be tolerated rather than the use be destroyed, and thus also they guarded against all abridgement by the United States of the freedom of religious principles and exercises and retained to themselves the right of protecting the same, as this State, by a law passed on the general demand of its citizens, had already protected them from all human restraint or interference; and that, in addition to this general principle and express declaration, another and more special provision has been made by one of the amendments to the Constitution which expressly declares that 'Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press,' thereby guarding in the same sentence, and under the same words, the freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press, insomuch that whatever violates either throws down the sanctuary which covers the others, and that libels, falsehoods, and defamation, equally with heresy and false religion, are withheld from the cognizance of Federal tribunals;



GEORGE WASHINGTON

George Washington, 1st president; born at Bridges Creek, Westmoreland county, Va., Feb. 22, 1732; engineer and surveyor; aide de camp to Col. Braddock, 1755; commander-in-chief of colonial forces, 1755-58; delegate to first and second continental congresses, 1774-1775; unanimously chosen commander-in-chief of forces raised and to be raised June 15, 1775; commanded the armies throughout the war for independence; resigned commission December 3, 1783; unanimously elected first president of the United States and inaugurated April 3, 1789, in New York City; unanimously elected for second term; declined reelection and retired March 5, 1797; appointed lieutenant general and commander-in-chief of U. S. army and served until his death, which occurred at Mt. Vernon, Va., December 14, 1799.

—That, therefore, the act of the Congress of the United States passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, entitled ‘An act in addition to the act entitled an act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States,’ which does abridge the freedom of the press, is not law, but is altogether void and of no effect.

“4. *Resolved*, That alien friends are under the jurisdiction and protection of the laws of the State wherein they are; That no power over them has been delegated to the United States nor prohibited to the individual States distinct from their power over citizens; and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared, that ‘the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people,’—the act of the Congress of the United States passed the 22d day of June, 1798, entitled ‘An act concerning aliens,’ which assumes power over alien friends not delegated by the Constitution, is not law, but is altogether void and of no force.

“5. *Resolved*, That, in addition to the general principle, as well as the express declaration, that powers not delegated are reserved, another and more special provision inserted in the Constitution from abundant caution has declared ‘that the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808’; that this Commonwealth does admit the migration of alien friends described as the subject of the said act concerning aliens,—That a provision against prohibiting their migration is a provision against all acts equivalent thereto, or it would be nugatory; That to remove them when migrated is equivalent to a prohibition of their migration, and is, therefore, contrary to the said provision of the Constitution, and void.

“6. *Resolved*, That the imprisonment of a person under the protection of the laws of this Commonwealth on his failure to obey the simple order of the President to depart out of the United States, as is undertaken by the said act entitled ‘An act concerning aliens,’ is contrary to the Constitution, one amendment to which has provided that ‘no person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of

law'; and that another having provided 'that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a public trial by an impartial jury, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have assistance of counsel for his defense',—the same act undertaking to authorize the President to remove a person out of the United States who is under the protection of the law, on his own suspicion, without accusation, without jury, without public trial, without confrontation of the witnesses against him, without having witnesses in his favor, without defense, without counsel, is contrary to these provisions also of the Constitution, is therefore not law, but utterly void and of no force.

"That transferring the power of judging any person who is under the protection of the laws from the courts to the President of the United States, as is undertaken by the same act concerning aliens, is against the article of the Constitution which provides that 'the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in courts the Judges of which shall hold their office during good behavior,' and that the said act is void for that reason also; and it is further to be noted that this transfer of judiciary power is to that magistrate of the general government who already possesses all the executive, and qualified negative in all the legislative powers.

"7. *Resolved*, That the construction applied by the general government (as is evidenced by sundry of their proceedings) to those parts of the Constitution of the United States which delegate to Congress a power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the Constitution in the government of the United States, or any department thereof, goes to the destruction of all the limits prescribed to their power by the Constitution; That words meant by that instrument to be subsidiary only to the execution of the limited powers ought not to be so construed as themselves to give unlimited powers, nor a part so to be taken as to destroy the whole residue of the instrument; That the proceedings of the general government under color of those articles

will be a fit and necessary subject for revisal and correction at a time of greater tranquillity, while those specified in the preceding resolutions call for immediate redress.

"8. *Resolved*, That the preceding resolutions be transmitted to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this Commonwealth, who are enjoined to present the same to their respective houses and to use their best endeavors to procure, at the next session of Congress, a repeal of the aforesaid unconstitutional and obnoxious acts.

"9. *Resolved*, lastly, That the Governor of this Commonwealth be and is hereby authorized and requested to communicate the preceding resolutions to the Legislatures of the several States, to assure them that this Commonwealth considers Union for special national purposes, and particularly for those specified in their late Federal compact, to be friendly to the peace, happiness, and prosperity of all the States; That, faithful to that compact, according to the plain intent and meaning in which it was understood and acceded to by the several parties, it is sincerely anxious for its preservation; That it does also believe that to take from the States all the powers of self-government and transfer them to a general and consolidated government, without regard to the special delegations and reservations solemnly agreed to in that compact, is not for the peace, happiness, or prosperity of these States; and That, therefore, this Commonwealth is determined, as it doubts not its co-States are, tamely to submit to undelegated and consequently unlimited powers in no man or body of men on earth; That if the acts before specified should stand, these conclusions would flow from them:—that the general government may place any act they think proper on the list of crimes and punish it themselves, whether enumerated or not enumerated by the Constitution as cognizable by them; that they may transfer its cognizance to the President or any other person, who may himself be the accuser, counsel, judge, and jury, whose suspicions may be the evidence, his order the sentence, his officer the executioner, and his breast the sole record of the transaction; that a very numerous and valuable description of the inhabitants of these States being by this precedent reduced as outlaws to the absolute dominion of one man, and the barrier of the Constitution thus swept from us all, no rampart now remains against the passions and

the power of a majority of Congress to protect from a like exportation or other grievous punishment the minority of the same body, the Legislatures, Judges, Governors, and counsellors of the States, nor their other peaceable inhabitants who may venture to reclaim the constitutional rights and liberties of the States and people, or who, for other causes, good or bad, may be obnoxious to the view or marked by the suspicions of the President, or be thought dangerous to his or their elections or other interests, public or personal; that the friendless alien has been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment, but the citizen will soon follow, or rather has already followed, for already has a sedition act marked him as a prey.

“That these and successive acts of the same character, unless arrested on the threshold, may tend to drive these States into revolution and blood, and will furnish new calumnies against republican governments and new pretexts for those who wish it to be believed that man cannot be governed but by a rod of iron; That it would be a dangerous delusion were a confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety of our rights; That confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism; free government is found in jealousy, and not in confidence; it is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power; That our Constitution has accordingly fixed the limits to which, and no farther, our confidence may go; and let the honest advocate of confidence read the Alien and Sedition acts, and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits; let him say what the government is if it be not a tyranny, which the men of our choice have conferred on the President, and the President of our choice has assented to and accepted over the friendly strangers to whom the mild spirit of our country and its laws had pledged hospitality and protection; That the men of our choice have more respected the bare suspicions of the President than the solid rights of innocence, the claims of justification, the sacred force of truth, and the forms and substance of laws and justice. In questions of power, let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chain of the Constitution.

"That this Commonwealth does therefore call on its co-States for an expression of their sentiments on the acts concerning aliens and for the punishment of certain crimes hereinbefore specified, plainly declaring whether these acts are or are not authorized by the Federal compact. And it doubts not that their sense will be so announced as to prove their attachment to limited government, whether general or particular, and that the rights and liberties of their co-States will be exposed to no dangers by remaining embarked on a common bottom with their own; that they will concur with this Commonwealth in considering the said acts as so palpably against the Constitution as to amount to an undisguised declaration that the compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the general government, but that it will proceed in the exercise over these States of all powers whatsoever; that they will view this as seizing the rights of the States and consolidating them in the hands of the general government, with a power assumed to bind the States (not merely in cases made Federal but in all cases whatsoever) by laws made not with their consent but by others against their consent; that this would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, and live under one deriving its powers from its own will, and not from our authority; and that the co-States, recurring to their natural right in cases not made Federal, will concur in declaring these void and of no force, and will each unite with this Commonwealth in requesting their repeal at the next session of Congress."

The resolutions drawn by Madison were adopted by the Virginia Legislature in December, 1798. They were:

"Resolved, That the General Assembly of Virginia doth unequivocally express a firm resolution to maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of this State, against every aggression either foreign or domestic; and that they will support the government of the United States in all measures warranted by the former.

"That this Assembly most solemnly declares a warm attachment to the Union of the States, to maintain which it pledges its powers;

and that for this end it is their duty to watch over and oppose every infraction of those principles which constitute the only basis of that Union because a faithful observance of them can alone secure its existence and the public happiness.

"That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare that it views the power of the Federal government as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact as no farther valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the States, who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.

"That the General Assembly doth also express its deep regret that a spirit has, in sundry instances, been manifested by the Federal government to enlarge its powers by forced constructions of the constitutional charter which defines them; and that indications have appeared of a design to expound certain general phrases (which, having been copied from the very limited grant of powers in the former Articles of Confederation, were the less liable to be misconstrued) so as to destroy the meaning and effect of the particular enumeration which necessarily explains and limits the general phrases, and so as to consolidate the State by degrees into one Sovereignty the obvious tendency and inevitable consequences of which would be to transform the present republican system of the United States into an absolute, or, at best, a mixed monarchy.

"That the General Assembly doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution in the two late cases of the 'Alien and Sedition acts,' passed at the last session of Congress; the first of which exercises a power nowhere delegated to the Federal government, and which, by uniting legislative and judicial powers to those of executive, subverts the general principles of free government, as well as the particular organization and positive provisions of the Federal Constitution; and the other of which acts exer-

cises, in like manner, a power not delegated by the Constitution, but, on the contrary, expressly and positively forbidden by one of the amendments thereto—a power which, more than any other, ought to produce universal alarm, because it is levelled against the right of freely examining public characters and measures, and of free communication among the people thereon, which has ever been justly deemed the only effectual guardian of every other right.

“That this State having by its Convention which ratified the **Federal Constitution** expressly declared that, among other essential rights, the ‘liberty of conscience and the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified by any authority of the United States,’ and from its extreme anxiety to guard these rights from every possible attack of sophistry and ambition having, with other States, recommended an amendment for that purpose, which amendment was in due time annexed to the Constitution,—it would mark a reproachful inconsistency and criminal degeneracy if an indifference were now shown to the palpable violations of one of the rights thus declared and secured, and to the establishment of a precedent which may be fatal to the other.

“That the good people of this Commonwealth having ever felt, and continuing to feel, the most sincere affection for their brethren of the other States, the truest anxiety for establishing and perpetuating the union of all, and the most scrupulous fidelity to that Constitution which is the pledge of mutual friendship and the instrument of mutual happiness, the General Assembly doth solemnly appeal to the like dispositions in the other States, in confidence that they will concur with this Commonwealth in declaring, as it does hereby declare, that the acts aforesaid are unconstitutional; and that the necessary and proper measures will be taken by each for coöperating with this State in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights, and liberties reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

“That the Governor be desired to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the Executive authority of each of the other States, with a request that the same may be communicated to the Legislature thereof; and that a copy be furnished to each of the

Senators and Representatives representing this State in the Congress of the United States."

Vigorous protests against the doctrines promulgated in the two sets of resolutions were made by several State legislative bodies—the counter-doctrine of national authority as superior to all State supervisory pretensions being strenuously maintained. The main objections urged in these various State protests were succinctly expressed as follows by the New York Senate in the course of a brief response: "The Senate, not perceiving that the rights of the particular States have been violated nor any unconstitutional powers assumed by the general government, cannot forbear to express the anxiety and regret with which they observed the inflammatory and pernicious sentiments and doctrines which are contained in the resolutions of the Legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky—sentiments and doctrines no less repugnant to the Constitution of the United States and the principles of their Union than destructive to the Federal government and unjust to those whom the people have elected to administer it."

In reply to the protests the Kentucky Legislature adopted (November, 1799) the following:

"Resolved, That this Commonwealth considers the Federal Union, upon the terms and for the purposes specified in the late compact, conducive to the liberty and happiness of the several States; That it does now unequivocally declare its attachment to the Union, and to that compact agreeably to its obvious and real intention, and will be among the last to seek its dissolution; That if those who administer the general government be permitted to transgress the limits fixed by that compact by a total disregard to the special delegations of power therein contained, an annihilation of the State governments

and the creation upon their ruins of a general consolidated government will be the inevitable consequence; That the principle and construction contended for by sundry of the State Legislatures, that the general government is the exclusive judge of the extent of the powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despotism—since the discretion of those who administer the government, and not the Constitution, would be the measure of their powers; That the several States who formed that instrument being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infractions; and That a nullification by those sovereignties of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument is the rightful remedy.

“That this Commonwealth does, under the most deliberate reconsideration, declare that the said Alien and Sedition laws are, in their opinion, palpable violations of the said Constitution; and, however cheerfully it may be disposed to surrender its opinion to a majority of its sister States in matters of ordinary or doubtful policy, yet in so momentous regulations like the present, which so vitally wound the best rights of the citizen, it would consider a silent acquiescence as highly criminal; That although this Commonwealth, as a party to the Federal compact, will bow to the laws of the Union, yet it does at the same time declare that it will not now, or ever hereafter, cease to oppose in a constitutional manner every attempt, at what quarter so ever offered, to violate that compact.

“And finally, in order that no pretext or arguments may be drawn from a supposed acquiescence, on the part of this Commonwealth, in the constitutionality of those laws, and be thereby used as precedents for similar future violations of the Federal compact, this Commonwealth does now enter against them its solemn protest.”

An elaborate and very able “report,” written by Madison, in final explication and assertion of the principles set forth in the resolutions, was adopted by the Virginia Legislature in 1800.

The Kentucky and Virginia resolutions became the basic and permanent creed of the States rights advocates. Their authority and arguments were naturally

invoked by disunionist theorists and schemers; but on the other hand it is indisputable that by far the greater number of those attached to their principles, both when the resolutions were issued and in subsequent generations, regarded them only as enunciatory of rights which ought to be preserved to the States in full vigor, and as in no way raising a question prejudicial to the Union's integrity. It should be remembered, moreover, that at the period of the adoption of the resolutions much uncertainty was felt as to the development ultimately to be taken by the national political system, that the great work of the Supreme Court in construing the Constitution had not been begun, and that it was habitual with the men of both parties to put forth decidedly aggressive deliverances and devote considerable zeal to their composition. An eminent authority says: "The interpretation of these documents is not an easy matter, but a careful study of their provisions, in the light of the political thinking of the Eighteenth century and of the circumstances under which they were produced, will indicate that they were not intended to announce the doctrine of State Sovereignty in the sense in which those words were commonly used from the time of Calhoun onward."¹

1800

The first assemblage to make national nominations was a conference held by the Federalist Senators and Representatives in Congress early in the year 1800, John

¹Andrew C. McLaughlin, *Cyclopedia of American Government*, article on Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.

Adams being named for President and Charles C. Pinckney for Vice-President. A few weeks later the Republicans put in nomination, by Congressional caucus, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr as their Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates. Both meetings were secret, but their decisions were immediately and completely accepted as authoritative by party followers throughout the nation. Thus the new device of party initiative, action, and rule by a body of leaders possessing recognized dignity and competence for the responsibility involved, had an auspicious beginning. It moreover operated with automatic perfection in its control of the men chosen to the Electoral College and therefore charged with the function of throwing the determining votes for President and Vice-President. The Jefferson and Burr ticket received the support of 73 Electors, every one of whom, casting a dual vote as ordered by the Constitution, gave one choice for Jefferson and one for Burr in conformity to the dictation of the party caucus. Adams and Pinckney secured 65 Electors, who also (with the exception of a single recalcitrant favoring Adams for first choice but Jay instead of Pinckney for second), faithfully obeyed the party behest in their voting. The total vote, counted first for President, showed a tie between Jefferson and Burr, and the contest was thereupon transferred to the House of Representatives, which, after protracted balloting, chose Jefferson President and Burr Vice-President. In addition to controlling the executive branch of the government, the Republicans for the first time obtained mastery of both houses of Congress. The

election of 1800 is famous for its anomalous result of a tie on the highest number of Electoral votes between two men of the same political faith nominated by the same organized body, and also for its complete and lasting reversal of the original party basis of the government. Not less famous is it for the introduction of the powerful machinery of the caucus to decide national party action and enforce regularity.

The high tide of Burr's fortunes was reached when, by the accident of an equal vote with Jefferson in the Electoral College, he stood before the House of Representatives as a hopeful contestant for the Presidency. His position, however, was purely technical, with no other merit to sustain it than the mathematical fact of the tie. Everybody knew that it was the intention of the Electors to award the office to Jefferson. But under the system of procedure in the House which the Constitution prescribed for such an emergency—the balloting to be by States, each State to have one vote, and the votes to be restricted to the two leading candidates,—a wide latitude was afforded for those machinations of which Burr was so consummate a master. The House, still retaining its præelection status, had a preponderance of Federalists, who, permitted full liberty of choice as between the tied Republican aspirants, were yet barred from voting for their own candidate, Adams; and moreover some of the Republicans were not disinclined to promote the ambition of Burr. There were at that time sixteen States, and the votes of a majority, nine, were necessary for an election. On the first ballot eight States voted for Jefferson, six

for Burr, and two were divided. By every contriving art the Burr forces strove to win in the struggle that followed, but all they could accomplish was to maintain a balance until the thirty-sixth ballot, when ten States rallied to Jefferson and he was elected.

Burr's part in this contest incensed the great majority of the leading men of his party; and the course of his Federalist abettors, so disregardful of the manifest preference of the country as registered at the election, contributed to the rapid decline of their political organization. The net result was the solidification of the dominant party, and its support by the people, to a degree never since paralleled. Jefferson became supreme, and thus was marked the beginning of that "Virginia dynasty" which for the next twenty-four years absolutely ruled the nation. It was a one-party rule, disputed nationally only by the slight competition of the surviving Federalists, though involving much factionalism among the Republicans, especially in the States. Burr was unceremoniously cast out from the Jeffersonian fold; and so doleful was his political lot that, upon seeking a Republican nomination for the Governorship of New York when his Vice-Presidential term was drawing to a close (1804), he was summarily refused and was constrained to make the race on a ticket mainly supported by his old enemies, the Federalists, whose action, however, denounced and derided by their great leader, Alexander Hamilton, did not avail to secure him the election.

The authority of the Congressional caucus, which showed itself so complete at its first application, con-

tinued all-powerful until the divisions in the Republican organization resulting from personal rivalries in the Presidential contest of 1824 and after, led to the exercise of more popular methods of party direction and expression. To prevent any possible recurrence of the embarrassing situation of 1800 in the matter of electing the President, the Twelfth amendment to the Constitution was adopted (1804), providing for separate votes on President and Vice-President in the Electoral College. Thus the execution by the Electors of the previously declared party will was assured, subject only to chances of sporadic dissidence not to be foreseen but, it was believed, hardly to be apprehended in view of the expected indisputable sway of the caucus.¹

1804

Again in 1804 the caucus functioned without the least accident or incident occurring to mar its supremacy. On February 25 the Republican Senators and Representatives met and unanimously renominated Jefferson for President, with George Clinton (also

¹Historically considered, the origin of the Congressional caucus is unquestionably to be assigned to the year 1800. In intention, however, the meetings of the Congressional leaders of the two parties in that year were rather spontaneous initial experiments to institute homogeneous political action, than caucuses in the official sense. As the new plan was found to work, it was promptly adopted by the Republicans and became their official mode of preparing for Presidential contests. But the Federalist party, lapsing into a hopeless minority, had less occasion for erecting an organic body to pass upon the claims of rival candidates; and its nominees subsequently to 1800 were therefore chosen by processes of agreement which proved satisfactory to its leaders without imitating the caucus formalities of the Republicans.

unanimously selected) for Vice-President. The Federalists, by agreement but without holding a Congressional caucus, chose as their candidates Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Rufus King, of New York. Jefferson and Clinton were successful, each receiving 162 Electoral votes against 14 for their opponents.

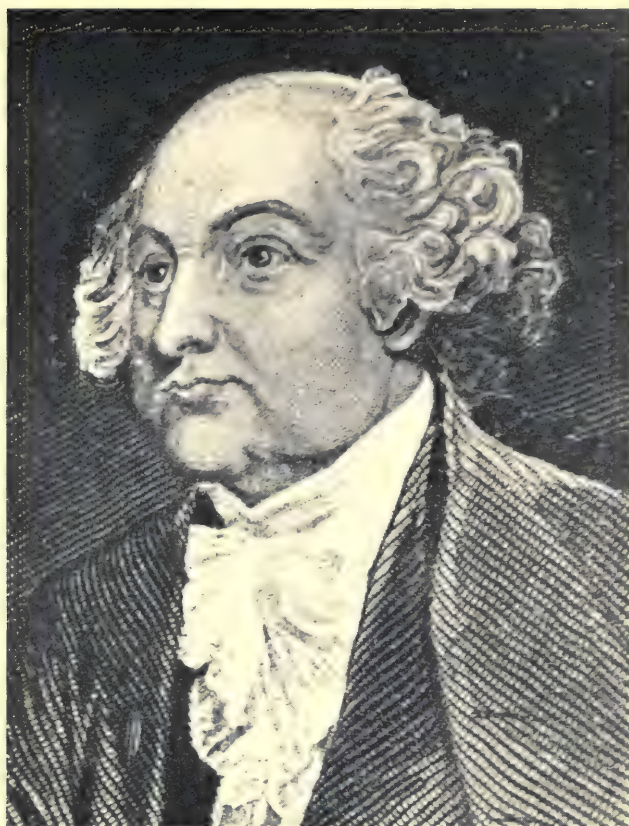
1808

As Jefferson's second term approached its completion, the question of selecting his successor was generally felt by the Republicans to be dependent upon the preference of Virginia. The Legislature of that State was expected to signify its choice between James Madison and James Monroe, but was unwilling to assume so delicate a responsibility and left the decision to the Congressional caucus. A marked sentiment favorable to George Clinton (at that time serving his first term as Vice-President) prevailed in New York, but the nomination of a Virginian was soon seen to be a foregone conclusion. The caucus, on January 23, 1808, named Madison for first place and Clinton for second, each by a very large majority of the members present. We have been unable to find any record of formal proceedings by the Federalists in designating their candidates, who, as in 1804, were Pinckney and King; apparently they adhered to their previous method of agreement without caucus intervention. The Electoral vote was as follows: President:—Madison, 122; Pinckney, 47; Clinton, 6. Vice-President:—Clinton, 113; King, 47; John Langdon, of New Hampshire, 9;

Madison, 3; Monroe, 3. Several of the Republican Electors voted contrary to the direction of the caucus, a course which they probably would not have taken if the result had been close.

1812

At the Presidential election of 1812 a very curious situation arose, showing the potentialities of independent political enterprise and symptomatic of that ultimate dispersion of party followers into conflicting groups under the stress of opposed personal ambitions which came to pass twelve years later. The great and powerful Clintonian element of the Republicans in the State of New York, led by Vice-President George Clinton and his able and imperious nephew, DeWitt Clinton, had urged the nomination of George Clinton instead of Madison to succeed Jefferson in 1808, and had since been preparing to dispute the renomination of Madison in 1812—a design which seemed to hold forth reasonable prospects of success on account of the rather general lack throughout the country of anything more than a perfunctory sentiment for Madison. George Clinton had become of venerable age, and died before the assembling of the Congressional caucus in the latter year. In the plans of the anti-Madisonians to enter the contest for the Presidency, DeWitt Clinton had already been decided on as their candidate. But owing to the emergency of the impending war with Great Britain the movement, so far as the Republican organization officially was concerned, gained no headway outside of New York; and when the caucus met,



JOHN ADAMS

John Adams, 2d president; born at Baintree, Mass., October 30, 1735; lawyer; elected to represent Boston in the general court in 1768; signed the Declaration of Independence and proposed George Washington of Virginia for general of American army; commissioner with Franklin to the court of France; later minister plenipotentiary to Holland; was the first accredited minister to England, 1785-88; served as vice president of the United States, 1789-97, with Washington as president; elected president and served 1797-1801; died at Quincy, Mass., July 4, 1826.

on May 12, Madison was unanimously renominated—John Langdon, of New Hampshire, receiving a majority of the votes for Vice-President. Langdon declined, and at a later caucus Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, was selected in his stead. Clinton, moved by ambition and encouraged by the ardor of his supporters, resolved to take the field independently, reckoning upon the favor of a large section of the Republicans and the assured endorsement of the Federalists, who, having no chance for a candidate of their own, were delighted to facilitate the division in the ranks of their detested enemies. A majority of the Republican members of the New York Legislature formally nominated Clinton for President on May 29; and he was accepted as the choice of the Federalist party at a convention of its leading members from various States held in New York City in September. His associate on the ticket was Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania. This Federalist venture is of historic interest as the first national party experiment in the direction of more popular nominating methods. The convention adopted the celebrated “Clintonian Platform,” as follows:

“1. Opposition to nominations of Chief-Magistrates by Congressional caucuses, as well because such practices are the exercise of undelegated authority as of their repugnance to the freedom of elections.

“2. Opposition to all customs and usages in both the executive and legislative departments which have for their object the maintenance of an official regency to prescribe tenets of political faith, the line of conduct to be deemed fidelity or recreancy to republican prin-

ciples, and to perpetuate in themselves or families the offices of the Federal government.

"3. Opposition to all efforts on the part of particular States to monopolize the principal offices of the government, as well because of their certainty to destroy the harmony which ought to prevail amongst all the constituent parts of the Union, as of their leanings toward a form of oligarchy entirely at variance with the theory of republican government; and consequently, particular opposition to continuing a citizen of Virginia in the Executive office another term unless she can show that she enjoys a corresponding monopoly of talents and patriotism, after she has been honored with the Presidency for twenty out of the twenty-four years of our constitutional existence, and when it is obvious that the practice has arrayed the agricultural against the commercial interests of the country.

"4. Opposition to continuing public men for long periods in offices of delicate trust and weighty responsibility as the reward of public services, to the detriment of all or any particular interest in, or section of, the country; and consequently to the continuance of Mr. Madison in an office which, in view of our pending difficulties with Great Britain, requires an incumbent of greater decision, energy, and efficiency.

"5. Opposition to the lingering inadequacy of preparations for the war with Great Britain now about to ensue, and to the measure which allows uninterrupted trade with Spain and Portugal, which, as it cannot be carried on under our flag, gives to Great Britain the means of supplying her armies with provisions of which they would otherwise be destitute, and thus affording aid and comfort to our enemy.

"6. Averment of the existing necessity for placing the country in a condition for aggressive action for the conquest of the British American provinces and for the defense of our coasts and exposed frontiers; and of the propriety of such a levy of taxes as will raise the necessary funds for the emergency.

"7. Advocacy of the election of DeWitt Clinton as the surest method of relieving the country from all the evils existing and prospective, for the reason that his great talents and inflexible patriotism

guarantee a firm and unyielding maintenance of our national sovereignty and the protection of those commercial interests which were flagging under the weakness and imbecility of the administration."

The reader will observe that this "platform" was practically altogether personal against Madison and on behalf of Clinton, and did not at all touch underlying political questions. It is the unanimous judgment of political writers that in the contest Clinton made no compromise of his Republican principles, a judgment concurred in by his biographers who have had original sources of information concerning his career. The campaign did not in any way involve issues in the respect of being marked by contrasting political ideas or proposals, but was practically limited to a test of personal strength between Madison with the prestige of official power and party regularity, and Clinton with his aggressive individuality and assorted following. The States of Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, and Virginia voted for Madison; those of Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island for Clinton; and Maryland was divided—Madison's total being 128 and Clinton's 89. If Clinton had succeeded in carrying Pennsylvania he would have won. For Vice-President, Gerry received 131 votes and Ingersoll 86.

Notwithstanding the preference shown by a considerable portion of the Republicans for the Clinton ticket, no cleavage in the party followed. The formidable vote for Clinton represented primarily the Federalists,

and this was so well understood that a strong party reproach was forthwith attached to him by the Republicans nationally, so that he was never afterward able to renew his Presidential pretensions. His subsequent eminent career was confined to the State of New York. The seeming resuscitation of Federalist strength proved fictitious. While the Federalist organization did not lack for self-confidence and fully asserted the consistent preservation of its original character and purposes, its course at the election was regarded as incompatible with any affirmative position or serious claims. By opposing the prosecution of the War of 1812, to the extent of open sedition in New England and with hampering efforts elsewhere, the Federalists took the final step, in a long succession of inept, reactionary, and unpopular acts and tendencies, that led to their complete disappearance from the theater of politics.

The Hartford Convention, 1814-15

Notably expressive of the animating spirit and motives of the extreme Federalists, as well as illustrative of the reasons for the failure of their party to make any progress toward winning the confidence of the country at large, were the transactions of the historic Hartford (Connecticut) convention. That body met on December 15, 1814, and continued in session until January 5, 1815. Exclusively Federalist in its membership, it represented all the States of New England existing at that time (Maine had not yet been admitted to the Union)—the delegates being 12 elected by the Massachusetts Legislature, 7 elected by the Connecticut Leg-

islature, 4 elected by the Rhode Island Legislature, 2 appointed by local conventions in New Hampshire, and 1 appointed by a local convention in Vermont. The deliberations were private, and all the delegates were pledged to secrecy. A report was published, which briefly set forth the conclusions arrived at but did not disclose the prevailing spirit and tendency of the discussions; and it was commonly believed that the real object was to institute a separate New England federacy if the demands made should not be complied with. The following significant words occurred in the report:

"The number of those [in the other States] who perceive and who are ready to retrace errors must, it is believed, be yet sufficient to redeem the nation. It is necessary to rally and unite them by the assurance that no hostility to the Constitution is meditated, and to obtain their aid in placing it under guardians who alone can save it from destruction. Should this fortunate change be effected, the hope of happiness and honor may once more dispel the surrounding gloom. Our nation may yet be great, our Union durable. But should this prospect be utterly hopeless, the time will not have been lost which shall have ripened a general sentiment of the necessity of more mighty efforts to rescue from ruin *at least some portion of our beloved country.*"

Resolutions were adopted as follows:

"*Resolved*, That it be and hereby is recommended to the Legislatures of the several States represented in this convention, to adopt all such measures as may be necessary effectually to protect the citizens of the said States from the operation and effects of all acts which have been or may be passed by the Congress of the United States which shall contain provisions subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible drafts, conscriptions, or impressments not authorized by the Constitution of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That it be and hereby is recommended to the said Leg-

islatures to authorize an immediate application to be made to the government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement whereby the said States may, separately or in concert, be empowered to assume upon themselves the defense of their territory against the enemy, and a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within said States may be paid into the respective treasuries thereof and be appropriated to the payment of the balance due said States and to the future defense of the same. The amount so paid into the said treasuries so to be credited, and the disbursements made as aforesaid to be charged, to the United States.

Resolved, That it be and hereby is recommended to the Legislatures of the aforesaid States to pass laws (where it has not already been done) authorizing the Governors or commanders-in-chief of their militia to make detachments from the same, or to form voluntary corps, as shall be most convenient and conformable to their Constitutions, and to cause the same to be well armed, equipped, and held in readiness for service, and upon request of the Governor of either of the other States to employ the whole of such detachment or corps, as well as the regular forces of the State, or such part thereof as may be required and can be spared consistently with the safety of the State, in assisting the State making such request to repel any invasion thereof which shall be made or attempted by the public enemy.

Resolved, That the following amendments of the Constitution of the United States be recommended to the States represented as aforesaid, to be proposed by them for adoption by the State Legislatures, and, in such cases as may be deemed expedient, by a convention chosen by the people of each State; and it is further recommended that the said States shall persevere in their efforts to obtain such amendments until the same shall be effected:

"1. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers of free persons, including those bound to serve for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed and all other persons.

"2. No new State shall be admitted into the Union by Con-

gress, in virtue of the power granted by the Constitution, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses.

"3. Congress shall not have power to lay any embargo on the ships or vessels of the citizens of the United States, in the ports or harbors thereof, for more than sixty days.

"4. Congress shall not have power, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses, to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation, or the dependencies thereof.

"5. Congress shall not make or declare war, or authorize acts of hostility against any foreign nation, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses, except such acts of hostility be in defense of the territories of the United States when actually invaded.

"6. No person who shall hereafter be naturalized shall be eligible as a member of the Senate or House of Representatives of the United States, nor capable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States.

"7. The same person shall not be elected President of the United States a second time; nor shall the President be elected from the same State two terms in succession.

"*Resolved*, That if the application of these States to the government of the United States recommended in the foregoing resolutions should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the defense of these States should be neglected as it has been since the commencement of the war, it will, in the opinion of this convention, be expedient for the Legislatures of the several States to appoint delegates to another convention to meet in Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, on the third Tuesday of June next, with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require.

"*Resolved*, That the Hon. George Cabot, the Hon. Chauncey Goodrich, and the Hon. Daniel Lyman, or any two of them, be authorized to call another meeting of this convention, to be holden in Boston, at any time before new delegates shall be chosen as recommended in the above resolution, if in their judgment the situation of the country shall urgently require it."

The States of Massachusetts and Connecticut sent

Commissioners to Washington to urge adoption of the proposed constitutional amendments, but without result; and the only effect made upon the country by the convention's doings was that of resentment. It was felt that whatever merit attached to any of the propositions was at best only representative of local prejudices, temporary sentiment, and factious desires—prejudices, sentiment, and desires which could not be acceded to without reopening very delicate constitutional questions and destroying all national harmony. Considered as a whole, the political program formulated was regarded as utterly narrow, and as affording a demonstration of the incapacity of Federalist leadership for anything but futile contention. Soon after the convention's adjournment news was received of the signing of the treaty of peace, and the Hartford movement thereupon came to an abrupt end.

It is noteworthy that not one of the seven constitutional amendments proposed by the Hartford convention has ever been adopted, or even seriously considered. In advocating restriction of representation to the numbers of free persons the convention did not at all contemplate emancipation for the slaves, but only sought to reduce the political power of the southern States by summary elimination of the "three-fifths" provision of the Constitution.

1816

In 1816 the Republican Congressional caucus, on March 16, nominated James Monroe, of Virginia, for President, by a vote of 65 against 54 cast for William H.

Crawford, of Georgia; Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, receiving the nomination for Vice-President. No nominations were made by the Federalists, but they united in supporting for the Presidency Rufus King, of New York. The only States that gave their Electoral votes to King were Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware. In the Electoral College the result for President was: Monroe, 183; King, 34. For Vice-President the vote stood: Tompkins, 183; John E. Howard, of Maryland, 22; James Ross, of Pennsylvania, 5; John Marshall, of Virginia, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, 3.

1820

The reëlection of Monroe and Tompkins in 1820 was wholly undisputed. Even the formality of placing them in nomination was dispensed with, the Congressional caucus called for that purpose being attended by only a few members and deciding that no action was necessary. Monroe received 231 of the 232 Electoral votes. The solitary Elector opposing him, William Plumer, of New Hampshire, voted for John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, not on party grounds, as Adams was a Republican, but for personal reasons and in protest against the arbitrary requirement that the Electors were obliged to obey party orders. The Vice-Presidential votes at this election were: Tompkins, 218; Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, 8; Daniel Rodney, of Delaware, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, 1; Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, 1.

1824

With Monroe terminated the line of illustrious and venerated Fathers who, identified successively with the struggle for American independence, the early endeavors of the States to administer their affairs, and the adoption of the Constitution and foundation of the Federal government, had been elevated to the Presidency for their preëminent historical fitness. His two administrations constituted the so-called "era of good feeling," with party lines so entirely obliterated that there existed in fact only one party, the Republican. During these years there were no indications of any plans, or even conceptions, in the direction of new party organization. The remarkable and exciting Presidential campaign of 1824 was shaped and fought without the least reference to party alignment, except in the particular of full and zealous conformity to Republicanism on the part of each of the candidates.

Preparations for the contest were begun in 1822, when Andrew Jackson was placed in nomination by the Legislature of Tennessee, and Henry Clay by that of Kentucky. Other States followed with nominations variously of Jackson, Clay, John Quincy Adams, and William H. Crawford. It was apparent from the outset that no candidate could control a majority of the party nationally, and efforts were concentrated toward securing State commitments and emphasizing the respective claims of the aspirants. The supporters of Crawford, however, undertook to invoke the authority of "regular" action, and a call was issued for a Congress-

sional caucus. A meeting was held accordingly, February 14, 1824, in the hall of the House of Representatives at Washington, but only 66 of the 261 members of the two houses attended. Agreeably to prearrangement, Crawford was nominated for President, with Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President, and a resolution was adopted commending the candidates to the favor of the Republicans of the nation. Conscious of the somewhat farcical character of the proceedings in the circumstances, the meeting added to the resolution the following explanation, which proved to be the valedictory of the institution of the caucus as President-maker:

"That in making the foregoing recommendation, the members of this meeting have acted in their individual characters as citizens; that they have been induced to this measure from a deep and settled conviction of the importance of union among the Republicans throughout the United States, and as the best means of collecting and concentrating the feelings and wishes of the people of the Union upon the important subject."

In the campaign no one paid any attention to the "measure." The rule of King Caucus had forever ended. To the Presidential canvass of 1824 has been given the inelegant but perfectly descriptive name of "the scrub race." Jackson received 99 Electoral votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41, Clay 37.¹ Several of the States showed considerable indecision and promiscuity in

¹Previously to 1824 there was no record of the popular vote for President. In 1824 eighteen of the twenty-four States chose their Electors by direct popular vote of the people, the rest through the Legislatures. Popular vote so far as recorded:—Jackson, 155,872; Adams, 105,321; Clay, 46,587; Crawford, 44,282.

their preferences; for example, New York, which distributed its votes among all the candidates, giving 1 to Jackson, 26 to Adams, 5 to Crawford, and 4 to Clay. No one having a majority in the Electoral College, the House of Representatives again, as in 1801, made the decision, balloting this time under Amendment XII to the Constitution, which limited the choice to the three foremost candidates. Clay was thus eliminated. Pursuant to his advice, the Representatives favorable to him went to Adams, who was consequently elected on the first ballot. Concerning the Vice-Presidency, no action by the Senate was necessary, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, having won in the Electoral College, which gave him 182 votes against 30 for Nathan Sanford, of New York; 24 for Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina; 13 for Andrew Jackson; 9 for Martin Van Buren, of New York, and 2 for Henry Clay.

1828

John Quincy Adams was destined, like his father, to hold the Presidential office for but one term, and to lose it under circumstances of extraordinary political convulsion. Originally a Federalist, he had come over to the Republicans during Jefferson's Presidency. In his changed affiliation neither his conduct nor disposition had ever been considered exceptionable from the party point of view; and there was nothing in the spirit or policies of his administration to be discomposing to even the most orthodox Republicans. He much desired a reelection, and in that natural ambition had the sincere interest of Clay, his Secretary of State, who, while

eager for the Presidency, loyally intermitted his own seeking. But Adams had adventured upon changing times, and despite his forceful intellectuality, elevated character, and admirable virtues was not the man to stem the personal tide which, almost from the day of his inauguration, set in against him. The cause of General Jackson, sustained in the contest of 1824 by considerably the largest group of Presidential Electors, as well as by a marked plurality of the popular vote, appealed more and more to the country, and was determinedly promoted by the General himself. It was widely felt that the casting of the Clay votes for Adams represented, to say the least, an ill-chosen discrimination, which Clay should have refrained from encouraging in deference to the superior favor shown Jackson by the people; and Adams's appointment of Clay as Secretary of State was by many considered not merely a reward in questionable taste, but—as the result proved—a move for the interest of a union of forces to control the next election. Jackson joyfully accepted the issue thus palpably drawn, and with all his vehement passion and enormous energy threw himself into the fight, swearing that it should cease only with the utter annihilation of Adams and Clay. In consequence the Republican party was riven asunder, the supporters of Jackson becoming known as Democratic Republicans, and those of Adams and Clay as National Republicans. It presently accorded more with the liking of the Jacksonians to call themselves plain Democrats, but several years elapsed before the National Republican organization took the official name of the Whig party. No

national nominating assemblage was held by either faction in 1828, as the rival candidatures of Jackson and Adams were predetermined by the course of events and endorsed in the States without dissent. Adams was overwhelmed, having only 83 Electoral votes against 178 for Jackson; and on the popular vote also Jackson was given a large majority.¹ Calhoun (Democrat) was reëlected Vice-President, with 171 Electoral votes against 83 for Richard Rush (National Republican), of Pennsylvania, and 7 for William Smith (Democrat), of South Carolina.

For fundamental and permanent historic importance the Presidential election of 1828 transcends any other from the time of the establishment of the government until 1860. It introduced into national politics, for the first time, a biparty system calculated to endure on account of the adaptation of both the resulting parties to American popular conditions, their alertness and virility in competing with one another, their fertility and facility in constructive matters and also in criticism, and their ability to stand defeat. It directly led to an ordered discussion of public questions and affairs by the formulation of political issues under the supervision and discipline of national party organizations, which, in turn, came out into the open arena of popular debate and action instead of basing themselves upon the "general agreement" of a few dignified chiefs or the extemporized authority, and consequently despotic command, of a caucus.

¹Popular vote:—Jackson, 647,231; Adams, 509,097.

The acquisition of power by the popular party as the result of Jefferson's triumph in 1800, says Carl Schurz,¹ brought a realization of the truth that the government belonged to the people, and not to "a limited circle of important gentlemen." This it was that afterward made it always so easy for the Republicans to beat the Federalists. The Federalist party was far too select. At heart, and often avowedly, it held to the essential ideas of "curbing the unruly democracy" and resisting demagogic demands, overlooking the stubborn fact that the democracy comprised vastly the major part of the population as well as a host of most brilliant, masterful, and sincere leaders—men who were as unselfishly patriotic as any Federalist, and who largely, moreover, compared not unfavorably with their critics for character, breeding, and probable capability of understanding the public welfare. Disfavoring characterizations of the democracy as such, and of its qualified advocates, incur naturally a vigorous, and, what is more serious, a mass, resentment; they have in general been avoided (publicly at least) by the more practiced politicians of later days. But the Federalists, even with the advance of time and the accumulation of distressing misfortunes, forgot nothing and learned nothing. Their failure to develop into a resourceful force of opposition to the Republicans proved fatal to themselves and was not well for the country. For it became consequently quite unnecessary for the Republicans to observe any particular circumspection in their own course, or to show progressiveness or fore-

¹*Life of Henry Clay*, vol. i, p. 40.

thought in dealing with existing matters or shaping policies for the future; they had but automatically to defeat the Federalists at every election, and meanwhile be exceedingly well content under the wise and beneficent guidance of their great men.

Several factors of highly conservative influence in their nature and operation contributed to the simplicity of national politics during the early career of the government. One of these was the limitation of the suffrage (especially on the basis of property qualification), which so generally prevailed from the beginning and was relaxed only with great caution. With but a restricted number of the body politic entitled to vote, no elaborate party machinery was required, and the methods of appeal for popular support were of the most elementary kinds. Another very effective deterrent to the development of national party action and expression along the lines of issues and coördinated consultations of the public at large, was the long persistence in many States of the practice of appointing the Presidential Electors by the Legislatures, thus debarring the people from directly stipulating their preference for President.¹ But the most potent and pervading of the circumscribing factors to which we have alluded was the

¹In practice, however, the system of appointing the Presidential Electors by the Legislatures operated fairly to reflect the popular choice; there was always great party activity in the individual States, which well assured conformity by the Legislatures to the predominating sentiment. The objections to the method were its indirection and the legislative assumption of a power which it was felt should reside in the people. As late as 1824 six of the States—Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, New York, South Carolina, and Vermont—adhered to the old plan of legislative selection of the Electors; but in 1828 it had been abandoned by all except South Carolina.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Thomas Jefferson, 3d president; born at Shadwell, Va., April 13, 1743; lawyer; member of colonial house of Burgesses, 1769-74; chairman of committee which drew Declaration of Independence, signed August 2, 1776; governor of Virginia, 1779-81; member of state house of representatives 1782; minister plenipotentiary to France 1784; sole minister to the king of France for three years from March 10, 1785; secretary of state of United States from September, 1789 to December 3, 1793; vice president, 1797-1801; president from 1801 to 1809; died at Monticello, Va., July 4, 1826.

primitiveness of the times—with but few newspapers, no railroads or telegraphs or cheap postage, and only the merest beginnings of school instruction for the masses of the people.

It was the powerful personality of General Jackson, and the ardent partisanship in his behalf matched by an equally ardent opposition to him, that wrought the radical change in party foundations, conceptions, and methods. Aside from the popularity that he enjoyed as the "hero of New Orleans," his tremendous resoluteness and absolutely uncompromising attitude on every question and matter made him an ideal man to found and lead a great party. Though lacking in literary education and deficient in training to statecraft, these accidents of the circumstances of his life were regarded by his followers as needing no apology in view of his commanding traits of character—his indisputable greatness as a man. On the other hand, his critics who were inclined lightly to esteem his capacity for public affairs and to look for his collapse accordingly, erred most egregiously; never was there a President who more completely dominated the government, or retained a stronger hold on the people both throughout his service in office and after. Under his leadership the Democratic party absorbed the principal following, numerically, of the old all-powerful Republican organization—that is to say, the "rank and file" of the voters in the nation generally, with important State exceptions, which exceptions, however, did not at all indicate a merely sectional preference so long as the opposition to the Democrats was conducted by the National Repub-

licans and their successors, the Whigs.¹ It became at once the reproach and pride of the Democratic party that the poor and struggling, those of obscure position and meager advantages, and the naturalized citizens, gravitated naturally to it.

After the election of 1828 Clay sprang to the fore as the leader of the National Republicans, or anti-Jacksonians. His remarkable brilliancy and attainments, fascinating manners and address, persuasive but at the same time reasoned eloquence, and perfect equipment as both a statesman and political chieftain, combined with the prestige of his distinguished services in the Senate, the Speakership of the House, and the office of Secretary of State, seemed to give him and his enthusiastic partisans every justification for expecting a favorable outcome in the gigantic struggle to wrest the Presidency from Jackson in 1832. Added to his personal qualities was the high character of the membership of the National Republican party, which embraced citizens of influence, affairs, substance, and cultivation to a notable degree. There was nothing, however, in the new organization—its spirit, proposals, or manner of operations—to be in fairness regarded as assimilating it to the Federalist party of melancholy but unregretted memory. It sprang from the body of the genuine Republican party of Monroe, Madison, and

¹During this period New York and Pennsylvania were among the most reliable supporters of the Democratic party, going against it only in the elections of 1840 and 1848. Illinois and New Hampshire nearly always went Democratic. Ohio was changeable. Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky, and Delaware were Whig strongholds. The strictly southern States were mainly Democratic, but the Whigs were strong in all of them.

Jefferson, of which it claimed to be the legitimate successor. This claim was scornfully resented by the Democrats. To attempt a decision upon the merits of the controversy would be profitless. The late deceased party left no testament. It had never adopted a declaration of principles or policies with which to compare the contrasting positions of the Democrats and National Republicans on the issues that now arose. Neither did its record concerning matters of legislation afford a sure test, as it had been on both sides of important questions according to expediency and the balance of opinion from time to time. Probably it would be most nearly correct to say that both the disputants were undoubted true successors. The National Republicans inherited most of the select elements of the parent organization, the Democrats most of the votes.

At an early period of the development of the National Republican party two basic issues were defined as expressive of its creed—in favor of first, a protective tariff, and second, internal improvements. Previously, these matters, though considered and acted on at times as public measures, had not represented any determinate party action or course. The protective policy had already been well established, especially in the tariffs of 1816, 1824, and 1828; Jackson had approved the principle; even the southern States had been not without leanings toward it. As for internal improvements, their desirability had been recognized by Presidents Monroe and Madison, with, however, the

qualification that a constitutional amendment would be necessary.

Clay presented these two party issues as cardinal and permanent political doctrines. A third, and, for the time, even more insistent issue, favoring the recharter of the Bank of the United States, was added as the result of President Jackson's opposition to that policy. The existent charter was not to expire until 1836, but the President's announced hostility to its extension caused Clay to precipitate the issue as opportune for the campaign of 1832. This action, comments his biographer, Mr. Schurz, was a strange blunder in political tactics; "he believed he could excite the enthusiasm of the masses for a great moneyed corporation in its contest against a popular hero like Jackson—a most amazing infatuation."

The general position of the Democratic party concerning all matters and questions of government and politics was that of its own established authority. It considered itself the legitimate ruling power, the inheritor of the accepted and settled traditions of American government and institutions, impregnable to attack because of its strength with the people and the resistless leadership of Jackson. In full control of the government, it was supplying, and would continue to supply, the required materials for public discussion and decision; and it therefore had no issues to create in other ways.

Thus were the parties constituted and led, and the principal questions between them defined, in preparation for the great contest of 1832, in which the funda-

mental devices and methods of organization and strategy that have come to be regarded as the essentials of our American political system had their genesis. There were other questions, relating specially to the partisan acts of the Jackson administration. In particular, the National Republicans viewed with much indignation the new "spoils" doctrine so uncompromisingly proclaimed and remorselessly applied by Jackson.¹ The slavery issue was not at that time a serious subject of party consideration; it was still believed that the Missouri Compromise had afforded a satisfactory settlement.

The Missouri Compromise, 1820

This celebrated measure, approved March 6, 1820, was an agreement between the north and south on the subject of slavery extension.

The Territory of Missouri having applied (March, 1818) for admission as a State of the Union, an excessively bitter controversy arose in Congress in relation to the proposed permission of slavery within its borders.

The claim made for authorizing slavery in Missouri was much more plausible than any subsequently put forward for its intrusion into other portions of the still

¹Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams had made in all 74 removals, all but a few for cause, during the forty years of their aggregate Presidential terms. In one year, the first of his administration, Jackson removed 491 postmasters and 239 other officers, and since the new men appointed clerks and other subordinates, the sum total in that year was reckoned at more than two thousand.—Carl Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay*, vol. i, p. 334.

unorganized national domain lying outside the geographical section in which the "peculiar institution" flourished. Slavery had already been established in Missouri Territory by the settlers, and the desire of a majority of them for its continuance without restriction was evidenced by their election of a strong pro-slavery Delegate to Congress and by the lack, throughout the long struggle on the question in that body, of any disposition on the part of Missouri to accept a compromise. Historically the prospective new State had exclusively southern antecedents; it had been an integral part of Louisiana. In the respect also of situation the south claimed a superior right to Missouri, as it was conterminus with slave territory and not adjacent to settled free territory, being separated from the latter by the Mississippi River.

From the point of view held at that period by most people except the uncompromising opponents of slavery on principle, it was considered wise to adhere politically to the spirit of slavery-neutrality shown by the framers of the Constitution and since tacitly observed, by admitting new slave States as well as new free States according to situation or local preference. It was generally conceded that if there were to be "balances" in the future, as there had been in the past, the south could not be expected to refrain from having its share agreeably to its "reasonable" claims. From these accommodating views the country was destined to have a complete awakening; but they exerted a deciding influence until the extreme southern pretensions brought about a

concentration of political anti-slavery sentiment at the north.

Up to the time of Missouri's application for admission in 1818, no exciting question had arisen concerning slavery extension. Events had not only taken a perfectly undisturbed course, but in their results had operated with singular evenness toward maintaining and perpetuating the original equilibrium between the northern and southern States. On the one hand, the "Northwest Territory"—comprising what have since become the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin—had been established by the Ordinance of 1787, and afterward firmly organized, in conformity to the principle of slavery exclusion; and identically with the occurrence of the Missouri question Maine was just coming into the Union as a free State. Offsetting these accessions to the political strength of the north were the additions to the southern system of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, with Arkansas Territory carved out of Missouri—all on the basis of slavery permission. It should be particularly remembered that at the time in question, and for many years afterward, the remainder of the national domain not as yet organized into States or in process of such formation was limited to the residuum of the old Louisiana Purchase, and its projection to the Pacific through the "Oregon Country" subject to a temporary diplomatic arrangement of equal rights of occupation with Great Britain in the latter; and that as this entire region extended northwardly, it was regarded as not to be associated with the sphere of

the slavery institution. The glittering prospect of a southwestern empire for slavery in the vast area still owned by Spain, reaching from Texas on the Gulf to California on the Pacific, had not come into view.

It was decided by the southerners that the time had arrived to take a more aggressive political stand for their institution. While the existing balance of the States was not unfavorable to them in the numerical respect, there was a large and constantly increasing preponderance of population, enterprise, and wealth in the north, which had its reflection in a steadily growing superiority of northern representation in the national House of Representatives. Nothing could appear more certain than that the balance would be still further disarranged in the future, with ultimate jeopardy to slavery even at the south, if concessions were not wrung from the north.

The south insisted that in consideration of all these circumstances it had every justification of claim to Missouri, and was unyielding in its demand for the slavery provision of the bill. That the advocates of freedom were equally determined, and in the end were able to force an advantageous compromise, was a fact of great significance for the future. Against threats of disunion which were known to be fully meant, a national opposition to the farther spread of slavery was energized which, while taking no party name, represented an unmistakable accord and resolution on the subject. The objection to slavery, formerly only sentimental, was thus made political. After the final Missouri settlement the political feeling became

quiescent, but with the certainty that it would not so continue if further provocative steps should be taken by the south.

The Compromise of 1820, adopted after two years of Congressional consideration, gave sanction to slavery in Missouri, but interdicted it elsewhere west or north of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$, this line being Missouri's southern boundary.

But the contest was not yet ended. Missouri, having received authorization to come into the Union, proceeded to adopt a State Constitution which in its slavery provisions went far beyond what the northern people had expected, or were willing to tolerate—one of its clauses being a command to the Legislature to pass laws “to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to, and settling in, this State, under any pretext whatever.” The whole question of admission was thereupon reopened. Northern sentiment demanded that Missouri expunge the objectionable clause before being received as a State; but Congress, intimidated by renewed southern threats of secession, refused to make any such condition. Again a compromise was devised, of which Clay (then a member of the House) was the author. Missouri was not required to recede in terms from her action, but was to pledge herself to pass no law “by which any of the citizens of either of the States should be excluded from the enjoyment of the privileges and immunities to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States.” The practical effect of this was to prevent infraction of the rights of free colored persons coming to Missouri from other

States in which they had previously acquired citizenship with the consequent guarantee to them of similar equality and privileges in all the States as expressly conferred by the Federal Constitution (Article IV, Section 2). As Missouri was not subjected to the indignity of being constrained to surrender her sovereign privilege of writing her own Constitution, and as the rights of the matter were based only on the Federal Constitution, to which the protagonists of slavery always urged a strict obedience, a majority of the southern members accepted the new compromise. The north was more reluctant, but finally gave the required support. By the close vote of 86 to 82 the measure was passed in the House (February, 1821), and it was promptly agreed to by the Senate. Missouri complied with the fundamental condition, and the fierce struggle was over.

An understanding of the principal circumstances and details involved in the Missouri Compromise, or rather compromises, is indispensable to a correct appreciation of the many and extraordinary subsequent phases of the political slavery controversy, especially as related to party attitudes and acts. At the present distance of time, with the absolute unanimity of opinion on the subject of slavery that has come to be established, it seems to many strange that an affirmative policy on the part of the north concerning the whole question was so long delayed, and even when ventured upon was the policy of only the major part of the north and so remained until the crisis of war enforced a measurably complete acceptance of it. But the long delay and divi-

sion of the north resulted logically from very powerful and persuasive facts and conditions. There was the original compact of the States, which recognized and tolerated slavery, not, it is true, expressly (the word slavery does not appear in the Constitution), but most indisputably by inference and arrangement; there was the horror of disruption of the Union; there were the intimate and indispensable interrelations with the south; there were the numerous other questions and matters in no wise related to slavery, and the exciting and engrossing events incidental to the further expansion of the country, such as the acquisition of Texas, the settlement of the northwestern boundary, the war with Mexico, and the great migratory movement to the west; and finally there was the belief that the slavery issue had been settled by the Compromise of 1820, which was based upon a principle and restriction satisfactory to the prevailing sentiment of the north. This Compromise operated for a quarter of a century entirely to compose the political trouble about slavery, and even for quite a time had an incidence toward discouraging the moral and philosophical discussion of the topic.¹ The anti-slavery feeling continued, however,

¹When Jackson became President, in 1829, anti-slavery seemed, after fifty years of effort, to have spent its force. The voice of the churches was no longer heard in protest; the Abolitionist societies were dying out; there was hardly an Abolitionist militant in the field; the Colonization Society absorbed most of the public interest in the subject, and it was doing nothing to help either the free negro or the slave; in Congress there was only one anti-slavery man, and his efforts were without avail. It was a gloomy time for the little band of people who believed that slavery was poisonous to the south, hurtful to the north, and dangerous to the Union.—Albert Bushnell Hart, *The American Nation*, vol. xvi, p. 165.

in the States, and after some years began to show a steady increase as the result of agitation and also to exert pressure on Congress through the agency of petitions and by the sympathetic action of individual Representatives and Senators. But neither of the great parties of the period at any time gave it countenance.

PART II

PARTIES FROM 1832 TO 1856

RESUMING now our account of the positions of national parties, the remainder of this record will be largely devoted to their successive platform declarations, which, as has been seen, began with the Presidential campaign of 1832.

1832

Anti-Masonic Party

The first national nominating convention of delegates was held by the Anti-Masonic party in Baltimore on September 26, 1831. This organization, dating from the year 1826, was founded on the program of opposition to secret societies bound together by oaths. After enjoying some vogue for several years it went out of existence. In the 1832 campaign it was at its height.

The convention was presided over by John C. Spencer, of New York. Thirteen States were represented, with 112 delegates present.

William Wirt, of Maryland, was nominated for President, and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President.

No platform of principles was adopted, but a committee was appointed to issue an address to the people,

which duly appeared. It recited the ideas of the party at considerable length, declaring that the secret societies constituted an institution which had become a political engine, and that political agencies were required to avert the baneful effects.

National Republican Party

The convention assembled in Baltimore on the 12th of December, 1831—Abner Lacock, of Pennsylvania, being temporary chairman, and James Barbour, of Virginia, permanent chairman. There were 157 delegates, from seventeen States.

Nominations, both unanimous:—for President, Henry Clay, of Kentucky; for Vice-President, John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania.

An address was adopted, but no platform. The address arraigned the administration of President Jackson with great acerbity, asserting, among other things, that

“The political history of the Union for the last three years exhibits a series of measures plainly dictated in all their principal features by blind cupidity or vindictive party spirit, marked throughout by a disregard of good policy, justice, and every high and generous sentiment, and terminating in a dissolution of the cabinet under circumstances more discreditable than any of the kind to be met with in the annals of the civilized world.”

A special feature of this address was a strong plea for rechartering the United States Bank, which was incorporated in it by the insistence of Clay, who regarded the Bank issue as the strongest one that could be urged in the campaign. Other features were condemnations of the administration for its spoils policy,

its course on the questions of the tariff and internal improvements, and its failure to protect the Cherokee Indians against the outrageous and inhuman treatment of them by the State of Georgia.

One of the most important acts of the convention was the adoption of a resolve recommending that a national gathering of the young men of the party be held in Washington on May 11, 1832. The body met as appointed, William Cost Johnson, of Maryland, presiding. After ratifying the nominations of Clay and Sergeant it adopted the following platform:

"1. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this convention, although the fundamental principles adopted by our fathers, as a basis upon which to raise a superstructure of American independence, can never be annihilated, yet the time has come when nothing short of the united energies of all the friends of the American republic can be relied on to sustain and perpetuate that hallowed work.

"2. *Resolved*, That an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country; and that an abandonment of the policy at this period would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation.

"3. *Resolved*, That a uniform system of internal improvements, sustained and supported by the general government, is calculated to secure, in the highest degree, the harmony, the strength, and the permanency of the republic.

"4. *Resolved*, That the Supreme Court of the United States is the only tribunal recognized by the Constitution for deciding in the last resort all questions arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that upon the preservation of the authority and jurisdiction of that court inviolate depends the existence of the nation.

"5. *Resolved*, That the Senate of the United States is preëminently a conservative branch of the Federal government; that upon a fearless and independent exercise of its constitutional functions

depends the existence of the nicely balanced powers of that government; and that all attempts to overawe its deliberations by the public press or by the national Executive deserve the indignant reprobation of every American citizen.

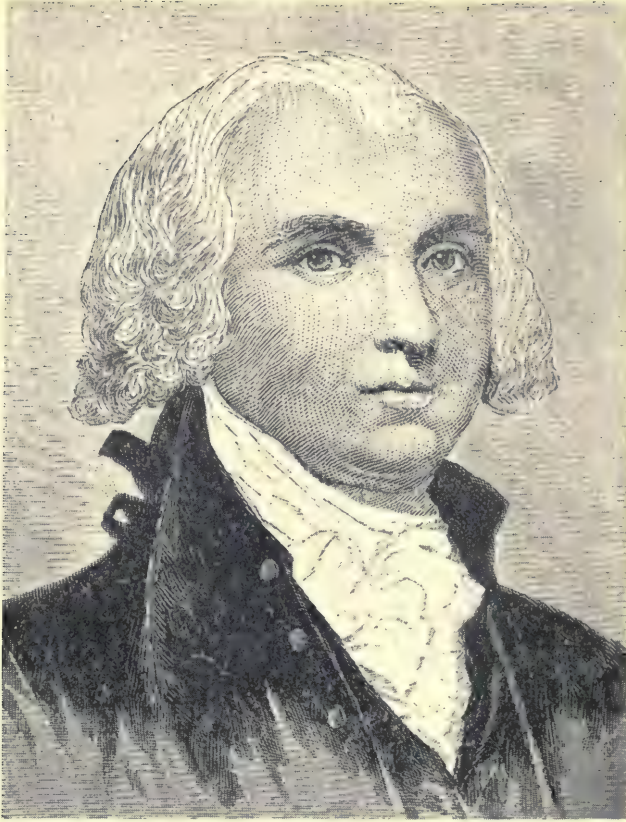
"6. *Resolved*, That the political course of the present Executive has given us no pledge that he will defend and support these great principles of American policy and the Constitution; but, on the contrary, has convinced us that he will abandon them whenever the purposes of party require it.

"7. *Resolved*, That the indiscriminate removal of public officers, for the mere difference of political opinion, is a gross abuse of power; and that the doctrine lately 'boldly preached' in the Senate of the United States, that 'to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy,' is detrimental to the interests, corrupting to the morals, and dangerous to the liberties of this country.

"8. *Resolved*, That we hold the disposition shown by the present national administration to accept the advice of the king of Holland touching the northeastern boundary of the United States, and thus to transfer a portion of the territory and citizens of a State of this Union to a foreign power, to manifest a total destitution of patriotic American feeling, inasmuch as we consider the life, liberty, property, and citizenship of every inhabitant of every State as entitled to the national protection.

"9. *Resolved*, That the arrangement between the United States and Great Britain relative to the colonial trade, made in pursuance of the instructions of the late Secretary of State, was procured in a manner derogatory to the national character, and is injurious to this country in its practical results.

"10. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every citizen of this republic who regards the honor, the prosperity, and the preservation of our Union, to oppose by every honorable measure the reelection of Andrew Jackson, and to promote the election of Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, as President and Vice-President of the United States."



JAMES MADISON

James Madison, 4th president; born at Port Conway, Va., March 16, 1751; lawyer; member of first general assembly of Virginia, 1776; congress, 1789-1797; secretary of state under Jefferson, 1801-1809; president of the United States from March 4, 1809 to March 3, 1817; died at Montpelier, Orange county, Va., June 28, 1836.

Democratic Party

The last of the national conventions to assemble preparatory to the campaign was that of the dominant party, the Democrats. It met in Baltimore, May 21, 1832, delegates from twenty-three States attending. Robert Lucas, of Ohio, presided.

In effecting its organization according to the custom of deliberative bodies the convention appointed a committee on rules, which took into consideration, among other matters, the question of the number of votes to be required for nominations. As it was known that President Jackson would be renominated unanimously, no provision was considered proper in relation to the Presidency; but concerning the Vice-Presidency the committee reported the following resolution, which was adopted by the convention:

"Resolved, That each State be entitled, in the nomination to be made for the Vice-Presidency, to a number of votes equal to the number to which it will be entitled in the Electoral Colleges under the new apportionment in voting for President and Vice-President; and that two-thirds of the whole number of votes in the convention shall be necessary to constitute a choice."

This was the origin of the two-thirds rule that has ever since governed Democratic national conventions.

For President, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, was nominated unanimously; for Vice-President, Martin Van Buren, of New York, by 208 votes against 49 for Philip P. Barbour, of Virginia, and 26 for Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky. The choice of the Vice-Presidential candidate was dictated by Jackson, who at all times placed the strongest reliance upon Van

Buren as his consistent and able supporter both politically and personally.

No platform was adopted.

The Election

For President, Electoral vote:

Andrew Jackson, Democrat:—Alabama, 7; Georgia, 11; Illinois, 5; Indiana, 9; Louisiana, 5; Maine, 10; Maryland, 3; Mississippi, 4; Missouri, 4; New Hampshire, 7; New Jersey, 8; New York, 42; North Carolina, 15; Ohio, 21; Pennsylvania, 30; Tennessee, 15; Virginia, 23. Total, 219. Elected.

Henry Clay, National Republican:—Connecticut, 8; Delaware, 3; Kentucky, 15; Maryland, 5; Massachusetts, 14; Rhode Island, 4. Total, 49.

John Floyd, of Virginia:—South Carolina, 11. His candidacy was purely local to South Carolina, expressive of the nullification and secessionist attitude taken by that State on account of the protective tariff, especially the so-called "tariff of abominations" of 1828. Jackson was not an extremist on the tariff either for or against protection, but was uncompromisingly for the preservation of the Union against any State separatist scheme. The Floyd vote was South Carolina's protest against his reelection.

William Wirt, Anti-Mason:—Vermont, 7.

For Vice-President, Electoral vote:

Martin Van Buren, Democrat:—Same as Jackson, less 30 in Pennsylvania. Total, 189. Elected.

John Sergeant, National Republican:—Same as Clay, 49.

William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, Democrat:—Pennsylvania, 30.

Henry Lee, of Massachusetts:—Same as Floyd, 11.

Amos Ellmaker, Anti-Mason:—Same as Wirt, 7.

Popular vote:

Jackson, 687,502; Clay and Wirt, 530,189. Wirt, says Greeley and Cleveland's "Political Text-Book for 1860," "received a considerable vote in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania" which is added in the total of 530,189 for Clay.

1836

Democratic Party

The national convention assembled in Baltimore, May 20, 1835—nearly a year and a half in advance of the election. Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, was chosen chairman. The two-thirds rule for nominations was adopted. This action for the first time established the rule for both Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominations. The subject came up before the full convention, which debated and decided it—the vote being 231 for the rule and 210 against. The principal argument in its favor appears to have been that a nomination by two-thirds would “have a more imposing effect.”

The early national conventions exhibited several aspects of considerable curiosity. The nominating convention system being an innovation, its practical details required some time to be perfected. Edward M. Shepard, writing of this Democratic convention of 1835 in his *Life of Martin Van Buren* (“American Statesmen”), says:

“There were over five hundred delegates from twenty-three States. South Carolina, Alabama, and Illinois were not represented. Party organization was still very imperfect. The modern system of precise and proportional representation was not yet known. The States which approved the convention sent delegates in such number as suited

their convenience. Maryland, the convention being held in its chief city, sent 183 delegates; Virginia, close at hand, sent 102; New York, although the home of the proposed candidate, sent but 42, the precise number of its Electoral votes. Tennessee sent but one; Mississippi and Missouri, only two each. In making the nominations, the delegates from each State, however numerous or few, cast a number of votes equal to its representation in the Electoral College. The 183 delegates from Maryland cast therefore but ten votes; while the single delegate from Tennessee, much courted man he must have been, cast fifteen."

Martin Van Buren, of New York, received the nomination for President unanimously, this choice being in conformity to the well-known wish of Jackson. On the first ballot for Vice-President, Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was nominated by a very close margin over the required two-thirds, having 178 votes against 87 for William C. Rives, of Virginia.

Again the Democratic party preferred to go before the people without presenting a national platform.

Whig Party

The name Whig had by this time been generally substituted for National Republican. Owing to the disastrous defeat of Clay in 1832, it was not deemed expedient again to nominate him. The party was suffering much discouragement from the lack of a confident organization and leadership adapted to put it in an aggressive position against the supreme and disciplined Democracy. While it retained its determination and energy as an opposition, its distractions were too serious to enable it to enter the campaign to advantage. No national convention was held, and the mat-

ter of nominations was left to the States, with a hope in some quarters that the result of 1824 might be repeated and the election be thrown into the House of Representatives.

Daniel Webster, whose aspirations for the Presidency were no less ardent than Clay's, was hopeful of securing substantial party support. The Legislature of Massachusetts placed him in nomination, but this was the only State endorsement that he received.

General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, proved to be the favorite. In turning to him the Whigs appear to have taken a lesson from the Democrats, with the hope that his military reputation and general rugged traits of character would appeal to the popular imagination and enthusiasm in some such manner as the similar personality of Jackson had done. He was nominated for the Presidency by Whig conventions held in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, Maryland, and other States. For the Vice-Presidency on the Harrison ticket, Francis Granger, of New York, received the nomination in some of the States, and John Tyler, of Virginia, in others.

Another Whig candidate put in the field for President was Willie P. Mangum, of North Carolina.

Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, at that time not classed as a Whig but as an anti-administration Democrat, was brought forward against Van Buren by some of the disaffected southern Democrats with Whig co-operation. His most important endorsement was that of Tennessee, Jackson's own State.

The Election

For President, Electoral vote:

Martin Van Buren, Democrat:—Alabama, 7; Arkansas, 3; Connecticut, 8; Illinois, 5; Louisiana, 5; Maine, 10; Michigan, 3; Mississippi, 4; Missouri, 4; New Hampshire, 7; New York, 42; North Carolina, 15; Pennsylvania, 30; Rhode Island, 4; Virginia, 23. Total, 170. Elected.

William Henry Harrison, Whig:—Delaware, 3; Indiana, 9; Kentucky, 15; Maryland, 10; New Jersey, 8; Ohio, 21; Vermont, 7. Total, 73.

Hugh L. White, anti-administration:—Georgia, 11; Tennessee, 15. Total, 26.

Daniel Webster, Whig:—Massachusetts, 14.

Willie P. Mangum, Whig:—South Carolina, 11.

For Vice-President, Electoral vote:

Richard M. Johnson, Democrat:—Same as Van Buren, less 23 in Virginia. Total, 147.

Francis Granger, Whig:—Delaware, 3; Indiana, 9; Kentucky, 15; Massachusetts, 14; New Jersey, 8; Ohio, 21; Vermont, 7. Total, 77.

John Tyler, Whig:—Georgia, 11; Maryland, 10; South Carolina, 11; Tennessee, 15. Total, 47.

William Smith, of Alabama, Democrat:—Virginia, 23. Virginia strongly opposed the nomination of Johnson by the Democratic national convention, and persisted in antagonizing him at the election.

Johnson had exactly half the Electoral vote. The decision being referred to the United States Senate conformably to the Constitution, that body elected Johnson Vice-President.

Popular vote:

Van Buren, 761,549; Harrison, 549,394; White, 146,149; Webster, 41,093; Mangum, no popular vote reported, his 11 Electors being chosen by the South Carolina Legislature.

1840

Liberty Party

The opening of the Presidential campaign of this year was signalized by the appearance of a new political organization, the Abolition, or Liberty, party. On November 13, 1839, it held a convention at Warsaw, New York, which adopted the following:

"Resolved, That, in our judgment, every consideration of duty and expediency which ought to control the action of Christian freemen requires of the Abolitionists of the United States to organize a distinct and independent political party, embracing all the necessary means for nominating candidates for office and sustaining them by public suffrage."

James G. Birney, of New York, was nominated for President, and Francis J. Le Moyne, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President; both declined—Birney because the convention was not a national body held for nominating purposes, LeMoyne on account of modesty.¹

A national nominating convention of Abolitionists met in Albany, New York, April 1, 1840, six States being represented. Nominations:—President, James G. Birney, of New York; Vice-President, Thomas Earle, of Pennsylvania.

Although the organization which originally was

¹See McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, vol. vi, p. 569.

known as the Abolition or Liberty party, and afterward was merged into the Free Soil party, participated in all the Presidential contests from 1840 until the appearance of the Republican party, neither it nor the Free Soil organization ever carried a State for President or secured a single Electoral vote. It held positive anti-slavery views, based upon moral principle; but nevertheless claimed to pursue a policy of constitutional foundation and proceeding, as opposed to the avowed disunionism of the Garrisonians, who took their stand on the doctrine that the Constitution was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." In spite of the smallness of this new party's vote, its ideas exercised a growing influence upon political thought, particularly as the result of the startling events that followed the Mexican War. Opinions differ concerning the extent to which the modern Republican party is to be regarded as having originated from it. In view of the historical interest of this question, the successive national platforms of the Abolitionists and Free Soilers will be given in full (see 1844, 1848, and 1852).

Whig Party

National convention held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, December 4-7, 1839; temporary chairman, Isaac C. Bates, of Massachusetts; permanent chairman, James Barbour, of Virginia; twenty-two States represented.

A novel method of nomination was adopted. Instead of balloting in the full convention, a "committee

of the whole" was appointed, consisting of not more than three delegates from each State; these delegates then met, received the ballots of their respective States, and made the footings but did not report to the convention until a nomination was effected. After a protracted struggle William Henry Harrison was chosen as the candidate, receiving on the final ballot 148 votes to 90 for Henry Clay and 16 for Winfield Scott, of New Jersey. John Tyler was unanimously nominated for Vice-President.

No platform.

Democratic Party

National convention met in Baltimore, May 5, 1840; temporary chairman, Isaac Hill, of New Hampshire; permanent chairman, William Carroll, of Tennessee; twenty-one States represented.

Martin Van Buren was renominated for President unanimously. Owing to serious disagreements about the Vice-Presidency, no one was named for that office, but a resolution was adopted which left the decision to the States, the hope being expressed "that before the election shall take place this opinion will become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a Vice-President by the Electoral College."

The first national platform to be promulgated by the Democratic party was adopted by this convention, as follows:

"1. *Resolved*, That the Federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments

and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

"2. *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

"3. *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States contracted for local internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

"4. *Resolved*, That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of person and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

"5. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government.

"6. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to charter a United States Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people.

"7. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts by Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the

stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

"8. *Resolved*, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

"9. *Resolved*, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition laws from our statute-book."

The most significant feature of this platform was its recognition of the anti-slavery agitation, which, on account of the continual presentation of petitions to Congress with special reference to the demanded abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the circulation of Abolitionist literature through the mails, had begun to rise to national prominence. In addition to the direct expression on the subject made in the seventh resolution, other planks were so worded as authoritatively to establish the Democratic creed of strict adherence to the Constitution and the protection of property rights accordingly.

The Election

The Democratic party suffered from a widespread reaction of popular sentiment, resulting in its first national defeat. An aggressive campaign was waged by the Whigs from the start, which soon became marked by immense popular enthusiasm for Harrison. This

was the famous "log cabin and hard cider campaign,"¹ with the rallying cry of "Tippecanoe, and Tyler too."

For President, Electoral vote:

William Henry Harrison, Whig:—Connecticut, 8; Delaware, 3; Georgia, 11; Indiana, 9; Kentucky, 15; Louisiana, 5; Maine, 10; Maryland, 10; Massachusetts, 14; Michigan, 3; Mississippi, 4; New Jersey, 8; New York, 42; North Carolina, 15; Ohio, 21; Pennsylvania, 30; Rhode Island, 4; Tennessee, 15; Vermont, 7. Total, 234. Elected.

Martin Van Buren, Democrat:—Alabama, 7; Arkansas, 3; Illinois, 5; Missouri, 4; New Hampshire, 7; South Carolina, 11; Virginia, 23. Total, 60.

For Vice-President, Electoral vote:

John Tyler, Whig:—Same as Harrison, 234. Elected.

Richard M. Johnson, Democrat:—Same as Van Buren, less 11 in South Carolina and 1 in Virginia. Total, 48.

Littleton W. Tazewell, of Virginia, Democrat:—South Carolina, 11.

James K. Polk, of Tennessee, Democrat:—Virginia, 1.

Popular vote:

Harrison, 1,275,017; Van Buren, 1,128,702; Birney, 7,059.

¹The eastern end of General Harrison's house at North Bend consisted of a log cabin that had been built by one of the first settlers of Ohio, but which had long since been covered with clapboards. The republican simplicity of his home was extolled by his admirers, and a political biography of that time said that "his table, instead of being covered with exciting wines, is well supplied with the best cider." Log cabins and hard cider, then, became the party's emblems, and both were features of all the political demonstrations of the canvass, which witnessed the introduction of the enormous mass-meetings and processions that have since been common just before Presidential elections.—*Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, vol. iii, p. 98.

1844

Liberty-Abolitionist Party

National convention held in Buffalo, August 30, 1843; chairman, Leicester King, of Ohio; twelve States were represented by 148 delegates.

Nominations:—For President, James G. Birney, of New York; for Vice-President, Thomas Morris, of Ohio.

Platform:

"1. *Resolved*, That human brotherhood is a cardinal principle of true democracy, as well as of pure Christianity, which spurns all inconsistent limitations; and neither the political party which repudiates it, nor the political system which is not based upon it, can be truly democratic or permanent.

"2. *Resolved*, That the Liberty party, placing itself upon this broad principle, will demand the absolute and unqualified divorce of the general government from slavery, and also the restoration of equality of rights among men in every State where the party exists or may exist.

"3. *Resolved*, That the Liberty party has not been organized for any temporary purpose by interested politicians, but has arisen from among the people in consequence of a conviction, hourly gaining ground, that no other party in the country represents the true principles of American liberty or the true spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

"4. *Resolved*, That the Liberty party has not been organized merely for the overthrow of slavery; its first decided effort must, indeed, be directed against slaveholding as the grossest and most re-

volting manifestation of despotism, but it will also carry out the principle of equal rights into all its practical consequences and applications, and support every just measure conducive to individual and social freedom.

"5. *Resolved*, That the Liberty party is not a sectional party, but a national party; was not originated in a desire to accomplish a single object, but in a comprehensive regard to the great interests of the whole country; is not a new party, nor a third party, but is the party of 1776, reviving the principles of that memorable era and striving to carry them into practical application.

"6. *Resolved*, That it was understood in the times of the Declaration and the Constitution that the existence of slavery in some of the States was in derogation of the principles of American liberty, and a deep stain upon the character of the country; and the implied faith of the States and the nation was pledged that slavery should never be extended beyond its then existing limits, but should be gradually, and yet at no distant day wholly, abolished by State authority.

"7. *Resolved*, That the faith of the States and the nation thus pledged was most nobly redeemed by the voluntary abolition of slavery in several of the States, and by the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, then the only Territory in the United States, and consequently the only Territory subject in this respect to the control of Congress, by which Ordinance slavery was forever excluded from the vast regions which now compose the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and the Territory of Wisconsin, and an incapacity to bear up any other than free men was impressed on the soil itself.

"8. *Resolved*, That the faith of the States and the nation, thus pledged, has been shamefully violated by the omission on the part of many of the States to take any measures whatever for the abolition of slavery within their respective limits; by the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of Louisiana and Florida; by the legislation of Congress; by the protection afforded by national legislation and negotiation of slaveholding in American vessels, on the high seas, employed in the coastwise slave traffic; and

by the extension of slavery far beyond its original limits by acts of Congress admitting new slave States into the Union.

"9. *Resolved*, That the fundamental truth of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, was made the fundamental law of our national government by that amendment of the Constitution which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

"10. *Resolved*, That we recognize as sound the doctrine maintained by slaveholding jurists, that slavery is against natural rights and strictly local, and that its existence and continuance rest on no other support than State legislation, and not on any authority of Congress.

"11. *Resolved*, That the general government has, under the Constitution, no power to establish or continue slavery anywhere, and therefore that all treaties and acts of Congress establishing, continuing, or favoring slavery in the District of Columbia, in the Territory of Florida, or on the high seas are unconstitutional, and all attempts to hold men as property within the limits of exclusive national jurisdiction ought to be prohibited by law.

"12. *Resolved*, That the provisions of the Constitution of the United States which confer extraordinary political powers on the owners of slaves, and thereby constituting the two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders in the slave States a privileged aristocracy; and the provision for the reclamation of fugitive slaves from service, are anti-republican in their character, dangerous to the liberties of the people, and ought to be abrogated.

"13. *Resolved*, That the practical operation of the second of these provisions is seen in the enactment of the act of Congress respecting persons escaping from their masters, which act, if the construction given to it by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* be correct, nullifies the habeas corpus acts of all the States, takes away the whole legal security of personal freedom, and ought, therefore, to be immediately repealed.

"14. *Resolved*, That the peculiar patronage and support hitherto extended to slavery and slaveholding by the general government ought to be immediately withdrawn, and the example and influence of national authority ought to be arrayed on the side of liberty and free labor.

"15. *Resolved*, That the practice of the general government, which prevails in the slave States, of employing slaves upon the public works, instead of free laborers, and paying aristocratic masters, with a view to secure or reward political services, is utterly indefensible and ought to be abandoned.

"16. *Resolved*, That freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petition, and the right of trial by jury, are sacred and inviolable; and that all rules, regulations, and laws in derogation of either are oppressive, unconstitutional, and not to be endured by a free people.

"17. *Resolved*, That we regard voting, in an eminent degree, as a moral and religious duty, which, when exercised, should be by voting for those who will do all in their power for immediate emancipation.

"18. *Resolved*, That this convention recommend to the friends of liberty in all those free States where any inequality of rights and privileges exists on account of color, to employ their utmost energies to remove all such remnants and effects of the slave system.

"*Whereas*, The Constitution of these United States is a series of agreements, covenants, or contracts between the people of the United States, each with all and all with each; and

"*Whereas*, It is a principle of universal morality that the moral laws of the Creator are paramount to all human laws; or, in the language of an Apostle, that 'we ought to obey God rather than men', and

"*Whereas*, The principle of common law that any contract, covenant, or agreement to do an act derogatory to natural right is vitiated and annulled by its inherent immorality, has been recognized by one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, who in a recent case expressly holds that 'any contract that rests upon such a basis is *void*'; and

"*Whereas*, The third clause of the Second section of the Fourth



JAMES MONROE

James Monroe, 5th president; born in Westmoreland County, Va., April 28, 1758; lawyer; served in war of the revolution; member of state assembly, 1786; United States senator, November 9, 1790 until resignation in 1794; appointed by President Jefferson minister plenipotentiary to France, England and Spain successively; governor of Virginia, 1811; secretary of state under Madison from November, 1811 to March, 1817; president 1817-1825; died in New York City, July 4, 1831.

article of the Constitution of the United States, when construed as providing for the surrender of a fugitive slave, *does* 'rest upon such a basis,' in that it is a contract to rob a man of a natural right—namely, his natural right to his own liberties—and is, therefore, absolutely *void*; therefore,

"19. *Resolved*, That we hereby give it to be distinctly understood by this nation and the world that, as Abolitionists, considering that the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hope for it in our conformity to the laws of God and our respect for the rights of man, we owe it to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe as a proof of our allegiance to Him, in all our civil relations and offices, whether as private citizens or public functionaries sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to regard and treat the third clause of the Second section of the Fourth article of that instrument, whenever applied to the case of a fugitive, as utterly null and void, and consequently as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States, whenever we are called upon or sworn to support it.¹

"20. *Resolved*, That the power given to Congress by the Constitution to provide for calling out the militia to suppress insurrection does not make it the duty of the government to maintain slavery by military force, much less does it make it the duty of the citizens to form a part of such military force. When freemen unsheathe the sword it should be to strike for liberty, not for despotism.

"21. *Resolved*, That to preserve the peace of the citizens and secure the blessings of freedom, the Legislature of each of the free States ought to keep in force suitable statutes rendering it penal for any of its inhabitants to transport, or aid in transporting, from such State, any person sought to be thus transported merely because subject to the slave laws of any other State; this remnant of independence being accorded to the free States by the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Prigg v. the State of Pennsylvania*."

¹This extreme declaration was adopted to satisfy the more radical Abolitionists. It was a subject of much disputation among the anti-slavery people, some of whom repudiated it as a plain defiance of the Constitution while others insisted that it was truly interpretive of the Constitution's spirit. The Free Soil party refused to accept it, even after the passage of the Fugitive Slave law of 1850.

Whig Party

National convention met in Baltimore, May 1, 1844; temporary chairman, Andrew F. Hopkins, of Alabama; permanent chairman, Ambrose Spencer, of New York; all the States were represented by full delegations.

For President, Henry Clay was nominated by acclamation. For Vice-President, Theodore Frelinghuyzen, of New Jersey, was nominated on the third ballot by 155 votes to 79 for John Davis, of Massachusetts, and 40 for Millard Fillmore, of New York.

The platform consisted principally of eulogies of the candidates, who were pledged to maintain "all the great principles of the Whig party"—these principles being summed up as follows:

"A well-regulated currency; a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds from the sales of the public lands; a single term for the Presidency; a reform of Executive usurpations; and generally such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practical efficiency, controlled by a well-regulated and wise economy."

Clay, reappearing as a Presidential nominee after an interval of twelve years since his last candidacy, was still regarded as the great leader of his party. High hopes were entertained for his success. But events, and certain bearings of popular opinion concerning questions, placed him at a disadvantage. He was obliged to conduct his campaign mainly on the defensive.

The remarkable triumph of the Whigs in 1840 was supposed at that time to assure the execution of all their policies, including those for restoring the United States Bank, maintaining the protective tariff idea, and carrying out internal improvements. The death of President Harrison, however, after only one month in office, proved a terrible disaster to the party. His successor, President Tyler, vetoed the Bank bill that was passed by Congress, and even on the questions of tariff and internal improvements his acts were out of harmony with the traditional Whig ideas. Meantime the country turned again to the Democratic party, giving it a large majority in Congress at the elections of 1842. It was evident that the favorite Bank issue of the Whigs was dead, and that the country did not desire to give any further extension to the protective system.

Hence the notably retrograde course of the Whigs in their national platform of 1844, which embodied only a perfunctory expression on the tariff and made no mention of the bank or internal improvements.

Democratic Party

National convention held in Baltimore, May 27-29, 1844; temporary and permanent chairman, Hendrick B. Wright, of Pennsylvania. Every State except South Carolina was represented, 325 delegates attending, but the vote of the convention was limited to 266.

Martin Van Buren, having served acceptably to his party as President for one term and then unfortunately experienced defeat, was strongly urged for the nomination. A determined effort was made to abolish the two-

thirds rule, but after a day and a half of discussion the convention voted to retain it. The balloting began with Van Buren in the lead, 146 votes being cast for him, a few more than a majority. His strength then declined, and when the fifth ballot was taken he was passed by Lewis Cass, of Michigan. On the eighth ballot James K. Polk, of Tennessee, who so far had not received a vote, was given 44; and on the ninth ballot he was nominated unanimously.

Silas Wright, of New York, was chosen for Vice-President, but declined, whereupon the nomination went to George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania.

Platform:

"1. *Resolved*, That the American Democracy place their trust not in factitious symbols, not in displays and appeals insulting to the judgment and subversive of the intellect of the people, but in a clear reliance upon the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

"2. *Resolved*, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

"3. *Resolved*, Therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through the delegates assembled in a general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declaration of principles avowed by them on a former occasion

when, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

[Resolutions 4 to 12, inclusive, consisted of the nine resolutions of the platform of 1840; to which were added the following:]

"13. *Resolved*, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution, and that we are opposed to the laws lately adopted, and to any law, for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

"14. *Resolved*, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has thrice saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States.

"15. *Resolved*, That our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power; and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period are great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union."

The pith of the platform was in its concluding resolution, which made it, indeed, as important and far-reaching a political deliverance as has ever been issued in American history. It committed the country, in the event of Democratic success, first, to the acquisition of complete and permanent title to the Oregon country; and second, to the absorption of Texas into the Union and accordingly, in all probability, a war with Mexico.

Concerning the first of these policies, the Democratic party simply expressed in terms of finality the over-

whelming desire of the country for an immediate settlement with England of the northwestern boundary on a basis of enforcement of the territorial rights of the United States. This matter had for long years involved exasperating diplomatic delays and equivocations, the sole result being to continue the "joint occupation" agreement of 1818. During Tyler's administration negotiations had been progressing in which, it was later shown, the contention of the United States was firmly maintained; but on account of the delicate nature of the controversy it was impossible at the time to disclose the exact facts, and public opinion was therefore in a high state of excitement. It was generally understood that England laid claim to the Columbia River as the boundary; whereas the minimum American demand was for the forty-ninth parallel, and in the condition of popular feeling there arose an insistent sentiment for the line of $54^{\circ} 40'$. "Fifty-four forty or fight!" became the Democratic slogan in the 1844 canvass.

The word "*reannexation*," as applied in the platform to the intended procedure regarding Texas, was a euphemism to give a suggestion of constructive right to the comprehensive plan of Texan annexation upon which the party had fully decided. The territory constituting Texas had never been recognized as belonging to the United States, although at an early period—following the purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803—our government had maintained a strong and undoubtedly reasonable claim to a portion of Texas as comprised within the understood bounds of

Louisiana. But whatever presumptive right the United States may have originally had to any part of Texas was formally waived at the time of Spain's cession of Florida in 1819. Subsequently Mexico achieved her independence, and with it acquired Spain's title to all of Texas. Then followed the steady increase of settlement in Texas by Americans (mostly southerners), their revolt against Mexico under the flag of the Lone Star, and the establishment of the republic of Texas (1836), with, however, only a modicum of the territory to which its people aspired, and, moreover, but a precarious future unless admission to the United States could be obtained. The Texans, in offering themselves to us, proposed to get all the advantages of territorial greatness possible to be derived; and this meant war between the United States and Mexico unless the latter country should exhibit an altogether unimaginable pusillanimity. As a matter of fact, when the annexation treaty (negotiated by the Tyler administration and the Texan government) was presented to the United States Senate in April, 1844, it stipulated that Texas should embrace all the country to the Rio Grande River from its mouth to its source—which was a peremptory defiance of the claim of Mexico; and when the treaty was acted on by the Senate in June, 1844, it was rejected, only sixteen voting for it.

Inextricably connected with the Texas question was that of slavery. From the beginning of the discussion relating to the possible acquisition of Texas, it was foreseen that adoption of the proposed policy would surely revive the political slavery issue, with incalculable con-

sequences. Whilst most of the people of the north believed it would be unwise to interfere with slavery in its existing status, they were everlastingly opposed to positive steps looking to its spread. As early as 1837 Daniel Webster had said: "Gentlemen, we all see that by whomsoever possessed, Texas is likely to be a slaveholding country; and I frankly avow my entire unwillingness to do anything which shall extend the slavery of the African race on this continent, or add other slaveholding States to the Union." When the question became acute at the time of the original submission of the treaty to the Senate in April, 1844, the Whigs were quite generally against annexation; but, as they desired to retain all the strength possible in the south, they made no party issue on the subject in the ensuing Presidential campaign. Clay, as their leader, at first declared his hostility to annexation, not on anti-slavery grounds but because he did not desire to provoke war. Later in the canvass he further explained his views in letters that were regarded as having been written from politic motives; and his feeling of resentment toward the Abolitionists led him to refer to them in terms of contumely. Among the northern Democrats there were serious divisions of opinion. Van Buren, in advance of the assembling of the national convention, wrote a letter objecting to immediate annexation; and his failure to secure the Presidential nomination was attributed to the attitude thus taken. Silas Wright's declination of the nomination for Vice-President was occasioned by his loyalty to Van Buren, in whose anti-annexationist views he fully coincided.

The Election

From the preceding comments on the Democratic and Whig national platforms, it will be seen that both parties were under no small embarrassment in the contest. The result turned on the Texas question, and its closeness was a convincing proof of the latent power of anti-slavery. If the slavery issue had not been concerned, the party standing for so valuable a territorial accession as Texas could hardly have failed to win a most decisive victory. Yet the Democrats would have been defeated if New York had gone against them, and in that State Polk's plurality was only 5,000. The Whigs bitterly reproached the third-party Abolitionists, who polled for their ticket in New York 15,812 votes; but the latter retorted that they could not understand how a legitimate claim upon their support could have been advanced by Clay, who had temporized during the canvass in order to satisfy the south and had accordingly carried five slave States.

For President and Vice-President, Electoral vote:

James K. Polk and George M. Dallas, Democrats:—Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 3; Georgia, 10; Illinois, 9; Indiana, 12; Louisiana, 6; Maine, 9; Michigan, 5; Mississippi, 6; Missouri, 7; New Hampshire, 6; New York, 36; Pennsylvania, 26; South Carolina, 9; Virginia, 17. Total, 170. Elected.

Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen, Whigs:—Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Kentucky, 12; Maryland, 8; Massachusetts, 12; New Jersey, 7; North Carolina, 11; Ohio, 23; Rhode Island, 4; Tennessee, 13; Vermont, 6. Total, 105.

Popular vote:

Polk, 1,337,243; Clay, 1,300,518; Birney, 62,300.

1848

The great and historic administration of President Polk (March, 1845, to March, 1849) brought to completion the continental development of the United States in its comprehensive expanse from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from north to south.¹ The total gain in square miles was 1,201,178, which exceeded by more than 350,000 the area of the original States as established by the peace of 1783, and by more than 300,000 that of the vast Louisiana Purchase. This gain was divided as follows:—territory claimed by Texas, annexed in 1845, 389,610 square miles; territory comprising the present States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming, confirmed to us by treaty with Great Britain in 1846, 285,123 square miles; cession by Mexico in 1848 of all demanded territory west of Texas, inclusive of California, 526,445 square miles.

The Oregon dispute was adjusted by acceptance of the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary; the Texas question was settled by the Mexican War. In reality the previous opposition to Texan annexation represented only certain scruples and misgivings, which

¹The only continental territory afterward added (except the detached possessions of Alaska and the Panama Canal Zone) was the Gadsden Purchase, a strip of 31,017 square miles acquired from Mexico by peaceful treaty in 1854, embracing portions of the present States of Arizona and New Mexico.

Our authority for the various areas of territorial acquisition given above is the *Cyclopedia of American Government*, article on Area of the United States.

were without the sustaining and binding force of declarative support by a great party. The decisive steps concerning Texas were taken during the last days of Tyler's administration, and, with annexation thus made an accomplished fact, public sentiment was for pursuing all the subsequent measures and realizing all the national advantages logically involved. At the foundation of the question was the claim made for the Texans as our own people, entitled to our active sympathy and coöperation—a claim that could no more be ignored or treated indifferently than the demand of the American pioneers in Oregon for due maintenance by the government of their rights and interests. In view of the undoubted national character of the response to Texas's appeal, the charge urged by not a few orators and publicists of that period, that the annexation and the war were purely enterprises of slavery aggression, was certainly most unjust to the country. The slavery aggressions that followed were indeed numerous and intolerable, and moreover were not unforeseen; but in heartily supporting the war the northern people deprived the south of any reasonable pretension to either a superior sectional interest in it or special sectional advantages from its results. In truth the south, in all its later reproaches and allegations against the north, never raised a question concerning the Mexican War except in relation to the decided refusal of northern sentiment to regard its outcome as establishing new "rights" for slavery.

The issue of slavery extension, which the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had settled for the unorganized

territory at that time existing, took on a new and portentous aspect with the prodigious increase of the national possessions in 1845-48. Incidentally to the annexation of Texas in 1845 and its prompt admission as a State, the slave system that had been instituted and maintained throughout its jurisdiction by its American settlers was fully sanctioned by the national government. This was expected by everyone. It was even arranged and stipulated that the State of Texas might, at discretion, carve out of its territory four additional States "of convenient size," and that each of the new States should, if lying south of the line $36^{\circ} 30'$, be entitled, upon acquiring sufficient population, to admission to the Union "with or without slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire";—an arrangement, however, that never came to anything practically.

The real contest on the slavery questions springing out of the war was with reference to the ceded territory outside of Texas—a territory comprehending the entire present States of Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and California, and parts of New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming. Toward the end of the Congressional session in the summer of 1846—the war being in progress but its result mainly a question of the territory to be acquired,—President Polk requested an appropriation with a view to initiating peace negotiations. David Wilmot, a Democratic Congressman from Pennsylvania, after consulting with influential members of his party from the north, thereupon offered the very famous proposal known as the "Wilmot Proviso," as follows:

"Provided, That as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty which may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of the said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall be first duly convicted."

The House passed the bill with the Proviso, 87 to 64, anti-slavery Democrats and Whigs supporting it, but owing to the adjournment of Congress without day it did not come to a vote in the Senate. It was never favorably acted on by the latter body, but on frequent occasions was reaffirmed by the House. The principle laid down was of immense significance, and the steadfast support accorded it gave mortal affront to the south. Perhaps equally exasperating to the south was the constant northern contention that, as Mexico had abolished slavery, its reëstablishment in the territory in question would mean a reversion to an archaic condition. It was well known that the Mexican slavery-abolition was not based on humanitarian grounds, but inspired by recognition of the social and political equality of the inferior races with the Spanish elements consequent upon their long reciprocal intermixture, legitimately as well as otherwise. The high-spirited slaveholders of the United States did not for a moment admit that the systemic introduction of their "domestic institution" on the conquered soil would be equivalent to a retrogression from the existent Mexican standard.

In the interval remaining before the Presidential campaign of 1848 the southerners, on their part,

brought forward several proposals of slavery extension and formulations of fundamental ideas which clearly indicated their aggressive designs for the future. Of these, the measure most truly representative of the spirit and intentions of the south was a series of resolutions presented in the Senate (February, 1847) by John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, which declared that the Territories belonged to the States in common; that a law depriving any citizen of his right to emigrate with his property (*i. e.*, slaves) to any Territory would be violative of the Constitution; and that no condition should be imposed on new States except that they should have a republican form of government—meaning that the Constitution of its own force carried slavery into the Territories. Although these resolutions were not acted on by the Senate, it soon became well understood that the doctrine they proclaimed was considered vital by the south and likely ultimately to prove its last word in the whole disputation.

Various attempts were made to secure action by Congress permitting the entrance of slavery into the region to be taken from Mexico, which at that period was tentatively divided into two Territories with the names of New Mexico and California. But all of them proved abortive, and up to the Presidential election, as well as the end of the Polk administration, there was no conclusive result respecting slavery in those Territories.

Oregon, meantime, was established as a Territory without slavery (August, 1848), but not until after much debate and several votes in both branches of

Congress; on the final division twenty-five southern Senators opposed the bill because of its anti-slavery provision.

Concerned in the discussion about Oregon was the very important question of projecting the Missouri Compromise line ($36^{\circ} 30'$) to the Pacific. The projection was chiefly favored by the south on account of the associated principle of slavery recognition and the sure gain for the slave States to a large extent. Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, was the proponent of the leading measure on the subject, which the Senate passed but the House overwhelmingly rejected in compliance with the strong northern feeling against any new territorial concession whatever to slavery.

The momentous national events and Congressional proceedings of the four years 1845-48, which we have succinctly reviewed in the preceding pages, formed the foundation of the entire political history of the next two decades; there was not a question or development leading to or connected with the Civil War that did not trace its origin immediately to them. The basic idea of Douglas's great "popular sovereignty" panacea was propounded and explicated in the Congressional transactions of this period; and the same may be said of the favorite device of many perplexed people for leaving all questions as to the rightful existence or extent of slavery in the Territories to the decision of the United States Supreme Court. Only the formative stage of the conflict was reached; but the inevitable issues on each side were plainly defined in principle, with the certainty that the politi-

cal adjustments necessary to their settlement would involve the most positive and critical differences.

Democratic Party

National convention held in Baltimore, May 22-26, 1848; temporary chairman, J. S. Bryce, of Louisiana; permanent chairman, Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia. The two-thirds rule was readopted. This convention appointed the first national committee ever constituted in the history of American parties.

Nominations:—Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was nominated for President on the fourth ballot by 179 votes to 33 for James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; 38 for Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire; 1 for W. J. Worth, of Tennessee, and 3 for William O. Butler, of Kentucky. For Vice-President, William O. Butler received a unanimous nomination on the third ballot after a struggle in which five other candidates were voted for.

An incident of sensational character, and destined to have notable consequences, was the appearance before the convention of two rival delegations from New York—one representing the Hunker faction of conservatives, opposed to the Wilmot Proviso and in favor of accepting any Presidential candidate upon whom the party should decide; the other representing the Barnburners or radicals, who were supporters of the Wilmot Proviso and reserved to their own judgment the question of endorsing the nominee to be chosen. Not wishing to antagonize any party element in the great State of New York, the convention voted to



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

John Quincy Adams, 6th president; born at Baintree, Mass., July 11, 1767; lawyer; elected to state senate 1802; defeated for congress, 1802; elected to U. S. senate, serving from March 4, 1803, to June 8, 1808; resigned; minister to Russia, 1809-14; minister to England, 1815-17; secretary of state under Monroe, 1817-25; chosen president of United States by house of representatives, 1825; term ended, 1829; defeated for governor of Massachusetts, 1834; representative in congress from March 4, 1831 until his death, which took place in the capital at Washington, February 23, 1848. .

admit both the delegations on equal terms; but this decision did not prove satisfactory to either of them, and as the result each withdrew. The Barnburners, returning home, lost no time in starting the diversion from the party that culminated in the Free Soil candidacy of Van Buren.

The spirit of accommodation concerning party dissensions which the convention showed in its action on the New York dispute, was manifested also in treating delicate national questions. Resolutions condemning the Wilmot Proviso and approving Calhoun's doctrine as to the unlimited rights of slaveowners in the Territories were voted down.

Platform:

"1. *Resolved*, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

"2. *Resolved*, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

"3. *Resolved*, Therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through the delegates assembled in a general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declaration of principles avowed by them on a former occasion when, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

"4. *Resolved*, That the Federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

"5. *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

"6. *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States contracted for local internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

"7. *Resolved*, That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of person and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

"8. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war, after peaceful relations shall have been restored.

"9. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to charter a United States Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political

parties of the country have demonstrated to careful and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

"10. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts by Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

"11. *Resolved*, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

"12. *Resolved*, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition laws from our statute-book.

"13. *Resolved*, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national object specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

"14. *Resolved*, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and

which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

"15. *Resolved*, That the war with Mexico, provoked on her part by years of insult and injury, was commenced by her army crossing the Rio Grande, attacking the American troops, and invading our sister State of Texas; and upon all the principles of patriotism and laws of nations it is a just and necessary war on our part, in which every American should have shown himself on the side of his country and neither morally nor physically, by word or by deed, have given 'aid and comfort to the enemy.'

"16. *Resolved*, That we should be rejoiced at the assurance of peace with Mexico, founded on the just principles of indemnity for the past and security for the future; but that while the ratification of the liberal treaty offered to Mexico remains in doubt it is the duty of the country to sustain the administration in every measure necessary to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the war, should that treaty be rejected.

"17. *Resolved*, That the officers and soldiers who have carried the arms of their country into Mexico have crowned it with imperishable glory. Their unconquerable courage, their daring enterprise, their unfaltering perseverance and fortitude when assailed on all sides by innumerable foes and that more formidable enemy, the diseases of the climate, exalt their devoted patriotism into the highest heroism and give them a right to the profound gratitude of their country and the admiration of the world.

"18. *Resolved*, That the Democratic national convention of the thirty States composing the American republic tender their fraternal congratulations to the National Convention of the republic of France, now assembled as the free-suffrage representatives of the sovereignty of thirty-five millions of republicans to establish government on those eternal principles of equal rights for which their Lafayette and our Washington fought side by side in the struggle for our national independence; and we would especially convey to them, and to the whole people of France, our earnest wishes for the consolidation of their liberties, through the wisdom that shall guide their counsels,

on the basis of a democratic constitution not derived from grants or concessions of kings or dynasties, but originating from the only true source of political power recognized in the States of this Union—the inherent and inalienable right of the people, in their sovereign capacity, to make and to amend their form of government in such manner as the welfare of the community may require.

“19. *Resolved*, That, in view of the recent developments of this grand political truth of the sovereignty of the people and their capacity and power for self-government, which is prostrating thrones and erecting republics on the ruins of despotism in the old world, we feel that a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the people, to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, equality, and fraternity, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

“20. *Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded, through the American Minister at Paris, to the National Convention of the republic of France.

“21. *Resolved*, That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas President and Vice-President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents in creating a national bank; in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the land proceeds from the common treasury of the Union for local purposes; in protecting the currency and labor of the country from ruinous fluctuations, and guarding the money of the country for the use of the people by the establishment of the constitutional treasury; in the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842 and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846; and that, in our opinion, it would be a fatal error to weaken

the hands of a political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries, with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance which is the only safeguard of liberty.

"22. *Resolved*, That the confidence of the Democracy of the Union in the principles, capacity, firmness, and integrity of James K. Polk, manifested by his nomination and election in 1844, has been signally justified by the strictness of his adherence to sound Democratic doctrines, by the purity of purpose, the energy, and ability which have characterized his administration in all our affairs at home and abroad; that we tender to him our cordial congratulations upon the brilliant success which has hitherto crowned his patriotic efforts, and assure him that at the expiration of his Presidential term he will carry with him to his retirement the esteem, respect, and admiration of a grateful country."

Whig Party

National convention held in Philadelphia, June 7-9, 1848; temporary chairman, John A. Collier, of New York; permanent chairman, John M. Morehead, of North Carolina.

Once more Clay sought the Presidential nomination. From the beginning, however, the favorite was General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, who was nominated on the fourth ballot by the following vote:—Taylor, 171; Clay, 32; Winfield Scott, 63; Daniel Webster, 14.

Millard Fillmore, of New York, was nominated for Vice-President on the second ballot, his principal competitor being Abbott Lawrence, of Massachusetts.

The convention adopted no platform of principles. Very determined and persistent efforts were made by

individual members to compel some expression on conspicuous questions; but resolution after resolution was laid on the table. It was thought best by the controlling spirits of the body not to commit the party to anything specific that could militate against it in either the north or south; they saw the impossibility of declaring a policy on the slavery issue suited to both sections, and realized that the sensitive balance of opinion everywhere was likely to be turned by feeling. The troubles of the Whigs about platform policy were always much more serious than those of the Democrats. The Whigs were under the necessity of winning support in the south in order to succeed nationally; this required particular discretion and ingenuity, with attentive reconsideration at each successive election; whereas the Democrats had a consistent program, which was sure to be acceptable to the south in the last reduction and was relied on to serve at the north on account of their strength with the masses, as well as the conservative forces, in the principal States of that quarter.

The Whig candidate, General Taylor, was selected for the popularity that he had gained in the Mexican War. He was a purely military character, had never held public office, had never even voted, and was not understood to hold decided opinions on the great question of the time, although as a southerner and slave-owner his predilections were presumed to be for his section.¹ Manifestly, a platform would have been an encumbrance to him.

¹A daughter of General Taylor was the first wife of Jefferson Davis.

Great discontent was felt by the anti-slavery Whigs. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, who had been a delegate to the convention, was one of those who repudiated its acts and left the party.

In default of a national platform, the supporters of the ticket adopted declarations in conformity to their several points of view. A ratification meeting held in Philadelphia immediately after the convention passed resolutions, in platform style, which ably but altogether discreetly expressed the sentiments of the northern wing of the party, and which have been quoted by some writers as defining the Whig attitude in the campaign of 1848; but they had no official authority. On the other hand, a Democratic convention in South Carolina tendered Taylor its endorsement (which he accepted) on the ground that he, as a southern man, could be better trusted regarding slavery than Cass, a northern man.

Analyzing the Democratic and Whig positions in the campaign, Carl Schurz says (*Life of Clay*):

"Thus both parties avoided any clear position on the one great question that most concerned the future of the republic. The Democratic convention had rejected strong pro-slavery resolutions in order to save its chances at the north. The Whig convention had shouted down anti-slavery resolutions to save its chances at the south. The Democratic party, which contained the bulk of the pro-slavery element, tried to deceive the north by the nomination of a northern man with southern principles. The Whig party, whose ruling tendencies were unfriendly to slavery, tried to deceive the south by silencing the anti-slavery sentiment for the moment and by nominating a southern man who had not professed any principles whatever."

Free Soil Party

The Barnburner, or anti-slavery, faction of the Democrats in New York had practically served notice that it would follow its own counsels in the campaign; and after the Democratic national convention, dissatisfied with the platform and the candidate, it proceeded to make its opposition as effective as possible. A convention was accordingly held in Utica, New York, June 22, 1848, at which delegates were present from New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Wisconsin—Samuel Young presiding. Martin Van Buren was nominated for President, and General Henry Dodge, of Wisconsin, for Vice-President. General Dodge declined.

The Utica convention proved to be the prelude to a general movement of the pronounced anti-slavery people of the country against the old-party tickets. The prevailing influence was that of the "Free Democrats," but, on account of the unquestioned sincerity of the movement in the respect of principle, many Whigs, as well as the supporters of the former Abolition party, joined in it. The result was a call for a new and more representative national convention, which met in Buffalo, August 9-10, 1848.

Upon the assembling of the Buffalo convention it was seen that a wide interest, especially considering its entirely spontaneous character, had been awakened. The States of Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylva-

nia, Vermont, Virginia, and Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia, sent delegates. Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, presided.

Nominations:—For President, Martin Van Buren; for Vice-President, Charles Francis Adams.

The political organization evolved from the Buffalo convention is historically known as the Free Soil party. During its brief existence (restricted to the national campaigns of 1848 and 1852), it was generally called the Free Democratic party on account of its genesis and principal composition.

Platform:

"Whereas, We have assembled as a union of free men, for the sake of freedom, forgetting all past political differences, in a common resolve to maintain the rights of free labor against the aggression of the slave power, and to secure free soil to a free people; and

"Whereas, The political conventions recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia, the one stifling the voice of a great constituency entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability, have dissolved the national party organizations heretofore existing by nominating for the Chief-Magistracy of the United States, under the slaveholding dictation, candidates neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension without a sacrifice of consistency, duty, and self-respect; and

"Whereas, These nominations so made furnish the occasion and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the people under the banner of Free Democracy, in a solemn and formal declaration of their independence of the slave power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the Federal government from its control,—

"1. Resolved, Therefore, That we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors

to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.

"2. *Resolved*, That slavery in the several States of this Union which recognize its existence depends upon the State laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the Federal government, and for which laws that government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State.

"3. *Resolved*, That the proviso of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of slavery after 1800 in all the Territories of the United States, southern and northern; the votes of six States and sixteen delegates in the Congress of 1784 for the proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory by the Ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in Congress; and the entire history of that period,—clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the government ought to return.

"4. *Resolved*, That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States in order, among other great national objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly denied to the Federal government, which they created, a constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due legal process.

"5. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this convention Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy. No such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution, or derived by just implication from them.

"6. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the Federal government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever the government possesses constitutional power to legislate on that subject and is thus responsible for its existence.

"7. *Resolved*, That the true and, and in the judgment of this

convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free is to prohibit its extension in all such territory by an act of Congress.

"8. *Resolved*, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave States and more slave territory our calm but final answer is: No more slave States and no more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domain be kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land and the oppressed and banished of other lands seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new world.

"9. *Resolved*, That the bill¹ lately reported by the committee of eight in the Senate of the United States was no compromise, but an absolute surrender of the rights of the non-slaveholders of all the States; and while we rejoice to know that a measure which, while opening the door for the introduction of slavery into Territories now free, would also have opened the door to litigation and strife among the future inhabitants thereof, to the ruin of their peace and prosperity, was defeated in the House of Representatives, its passage in hot haste [in the Senate] by a majority embracing several Senators who voted in open violation of the known will of their constituents should warn the people to see to it that their representatives be not suffered to betray them. There must be no more compromises with slavery; if made, they must be repealed.

"10. *Resolved*, That we demand freedom and established institutions for our brethren in Oregon now exposed to hardships, peril, and massacre by the reckless hostility of the slave power to the establishment of free government for free Territories; and not only for them, but for our brethren in California and New Mexico.

"11. *Resolved*, That it is due not only to this occasion, but to the whole people of the United States, that we should also declare ourselves on certain other questions of national policy; therefore,

¹The bill here referred to was the "Clayton Compromise" of July, 1848 (named for Senator John M. Clayton, of Delaware), which provided for organizing the Territorial governments of Oregon, New Mexico, and California on the fundamental plan of referring disputed matters about slavery to the Supreme Court.

"12. *Resolved*, That we demand cheap postage for the people; a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the Federal government; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries; and the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the government so far as the same may be practicable.

"13. *Resolved*, That river and harbor improvements, when demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of national concern, and it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power, to provide therefor.

"14. *Resolved*, That the free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses they incur in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting therefrom, of reasonable portions of the public lands under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy which will promote, in various ways, the interest of all the States of the Union; and we therefore recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American people.

"15. *Resolved*, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practical payment of the national debt, and we are therefore in favor of such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the expenses of the Federal government and to pay annual installments of our debt and the interest thereon.

"16. *Resolved*, That we inscribe on our banner Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it we will fight on, and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions."

The Election

Again the slavery issue decided the result. This time the Democratic party was the sufferer. In New York, which had been normally Democratic, the popular vote stood: Taylor (Whig), 218,603; Cass (Democrat), 114,318; Van Buren (Free Soil), 120,510. If New York had gone for Cass he would have been elected. The Free Soil party proved a consider-

able factor in several other northern States. On this occasion the "Free Democrats" took the national question of slavery more seriously than the anti-slavery Whigs; the Wilmot Proviso was still much in people's minds, and it was a Democratic measure. Many Democrats went to the extremity of voting the Whig ticket; the usually Democratic State of Pennsylvania gave Taylor a clear majority over both Cass and Van Buren. On the other hand, the Whig opponents of slavery found it very difficult, upon reflection, to support Van Buren, who had long been one of the great leaders of the Democratic party; and at the last moment they largely preferred to sustain their own national ticket.

But the most striking feature of the general result was Taylor's strength in the south. He was successful in eight slave States which together cast 66 Electoral votes; Cass carried seven slave States, with 55 Electoral votes.

For President and Vice-President, Electoral vote:

Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore, Whigs:—Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Florida, 3; Georgia, 10; Kentucky, 12; Louisiana, 6; Maryland, 8; Massachusetts, 12; New Jersey, 7; New York, 36; North Carolina, 11; Pennsylvania, 26; Rhode Island, 4; Tennessee, 13; Vermont, 6. Total, 163. Elected.

Lewis Cass and William O. Butler, Democrats:—Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 3; Illinois, 9; Indiana, 12; Iowa, 4; Maine, 9; Michigan, 5; Mississippi, 6; Missouri, 7; New Hampshire, 6; Ohio, 23; South Carolina, 9; Texas, 4; Virginia, 17; Wisconsin, 4. Total, 127.

Popular vote:

Taylor, 1,360,101; Cass, 1,220,544; Van Buren, 291,263.

1852

As we have seen, during Polk's administration the only positive results concerning slavery were the admission of Texas as a slave State (1845) and the creation of Oregon as a free Territory (1848). The "equiponderance" of the north and south was in 1849 perfect, each section having fifteen States.¹ For the future, anti-slavery was still understood to have an impregnable title to all the territory north of 36° 30' agreeably to the Missouri Compromise of 1820; but slavery was as yet without any assured footing west of Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. The diverse measures of slavery extension presented and discussed in Congress up to the early summer of 1848, although conceived in the greatest seriousness, were only tentative actually because of the protraction of the official state of war with Mexico. On July 4, 1848, the peace treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was proclaimed to the country by President Polk; but, aside from the passage of the Oregon bill and the ineffectual attempt to enact the Clayton Compromise (referred to in the Free Soil platform of 1848), no new move of any consequence was made until the opening, in December, 1849, of the first regular session of Congress under the new administration.

¹The border States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri were in those times always classed with the south on account of their permission of slavery.

California, after the discovery of gold in 1848, increased in population so rapidly as to be qualified for admission to the Union as a State in the following year. Its inhabitants held a Constitutional convention which completed its work on the 13th of October, 1849, by the adoption of a State Constitution containing an absolute prohibition of slavery—this prohibition, moreover, having been incorporated in the instrument by a unanimous vote of the convention. At an election soon afterward the people of California ratified the free Constitution by a vote of 12,066 to 811.

This action of California, so independent in its nature and decisive on the question of principle at stake, took the country by surprise and precipitated the first formal contest on the new and final slavery issues that grew out of the Mexican War. It gave wonderful encouragement to the north, incensed the south, and intensified the feelings of both sections as to the matters that they respectively held to be fundamental. The southern leaders regarded California's course as an unwarranted assumption to prejudge her own rights in advance of the indispensable national proceedings to settle the constitutional and political questions affecting slavery expansion—an unceremonious attempt to thrust herself into the Union as a full-fledged State at a time of acute sectional competition. It was insisted that the case of Texas was in no sense similar—as Texas had joined the Union in the capacity of an independent country and therefore was entitled to exceptional advantages; whereas California was



ANDREW JACKSON

Andrew Jackson, 7th president; born in Union County, N. C., March 15, 1767; lawyer; solicitor for western district South Carolina (now state of Tennessee), 1788; delegate to convention to frame constitution for new state of Tennessee, 1796; member of congress, December, 1796 to March, 1797; United States senator, 1797-98; judge Tennessee supreme court, 1798-1804; served in war of 1812; led expedition which captured Florida in 1817; United States senator, March 4, 1823 to October 14, 1825; defeated as candidate for president, 1824; elected, 1828; served March 4, 1829 to March 3, 1837; died, Nashville, Tenn., June 8, 1845.

only an ordinary part of the general unorganized national domain. Stress was also laid by the south upon the fact that concession to California of the right of statehood without slavery would disturb the equi-pose of the sections, as there was at the time no part of the inchoate national possessions that was capable, on the essential basis of population, of being erected into a State with slavery.

It was hoped by the southerners that President Taylor would take their view of the merits of the California matter and refrain from recommending admission. But the President felt that such a course, so palpably partisan on behalf of slavery, would be incompatible with his sworn duty to the whole country and also unjust to the people of California. In his message of December, 1849, he therefore informed Congress of his expectation that California would soon apply for admission as a State, and advised favorable action in the event that the State Constitution adopted should be found "conformable to the requisitions of the Constitution of the United States." In addition, he remarked that it was believed New Mexico would at no very distant period request admission. Without directly mentioning slavery as a subject pertinent to the case of either California or New Mexico, he said:

"Preparatory to the admission of California and New Mexico, the people of each will have instituted for themselves a republican form of government, laying its foundation in such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. By awaiting their action all uneasiness may be avoided and confidence and kind feeling preserved. With a view of maintaining the harmony and tranquillity so dear to

all, we should abstain from the introduction of those topics of a sectional character which have hitherto produced painful apprehensions in the public mind; and I repeat the solemn warning of the first and most illustrious of my predecessors against furnishing any ground for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations."

While this was neither anti-slavery nor pro-slavery doctrine, it put both the opponents and advocates of slavery on their mettle to seek substantive results without further delay. The outstanding facts were that the President would sign a bill to admit California as a free State; that, inferentially, for the sake of national harmony he would not refuse the south compensating advantages; but that he would not be likely to approve any embracing program for the exclusive interest of one side or the other. It was hence not the time for either the north or south to attempt to realize the full measure of its desires; but the conditions were propitious for bringing forward specific proposals of "give and take." Thus was established the situation from which the great Compromise measures of 1850 were evolved.

Clay, who was again in the Senate, was by common consent made the leader of the Compromise forces. He sincerely and ardently believed that only concessions by both sides could accomplish a solution of the country's troubles; that, in the nature of the case, the concessions would have to be conclusive as to certain practical details; and that, if mutually accepted, they would operate for an ultimate concord of feeling as to underlying questions so far as practical-minded men and true lovers of the Union were concerned. After

preliminary consideration of a tentative measure drawn by Clay, and of various amendments to it, the Senate appointed (April, 1850) a select committee of thirteen, with Clay as chairman, which, in the following month, reported the historic "Omnibus bill." Its provisions, in brief, were as follows:

Admission forthwith of California as a free State without reduction of its boundaries; division of the remainder of the Mexican cession into two Territories, New Mexico and Utah, both of which were to be entitled ultimately to admission to the Union without insistence by Congress for or against slavery; reduction of the boundaries of Texas so as to add a large portion of its area to New Mexico, for which a money indemnity (later fixed at \$10,000,000) was to be paid by the United States to Texas; a more effective national Fugitive Slave law; prohibition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but no interference with the existing status of slavery in the District.

Attempts to pass the bill as a whole proved unsuccessful. Its provisions were then considered separately, and eventually both houses adopted them without change. During the debate President Taylor died (July 9, 1850). The Vice-President, Mr. Fillmore, had been in agreement with the spirit of the Compromises, and as President he signed all the bills.

Respecting the vital issue between the north and south, that of territory-control, the conclusion reached gave the advantage to the north in present substance, but not in principle. California throughout its whole extent was admitted as a free State; but the Wilmot

Proviso—so aptly paraphrased in the Free Soil platform by the words, “No more slave States and no more slave territory”—was totally abandoned. The new Territories of Utah and New Mexico (which, on account of their size, were likely to undergo subdivision ultimately) were thrown open to slavery. True, no apprehension was felt on this point; it was indeed ridiculous even to think of the possibility of an early application for statehood by either Utah or New Mexico that could for a moment be considered. But the deliberate recession by the north from the principle of the Wilmot Proviso was an exceedingly serious matter. It smoothed the way for the subsequent claim and concession of equal rights for slavery in all new Territories without exception; it led to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and by committing the government to a recognition of the legitimacy of slavery extension it made quite unnecessary for the future any timidity on that subject in national political conventions.

These things were of course not to be foreseen in 1850 by the anti-slavery Senators and Representatives, intent as they were on winning the fight for a free California. Yet the attitude of the southern leaders in the debate left no possible doubt of their unalterable feeling about the principle of slavery extension. A great speech was made by Calhoun (or rather, read for him—he was too feeble to address the Senate, and died a few days after), in which he dealt with the foundation matter of southern right solely, from his well-known constitutional point of view. Jefferson

Davis, then a Senator from Mississippi, said: "Never will I take less than the Missouri Compromise line extended to the Pacific Ocean, with the specific recognition of the right to hold slaves in the territory below that line; and that, before such Territories are admitted into the Union as States, slaves may be taken there from any of the United States at the option of their owners." A strong effort was made by the ultra southerners to force a division of California into two States, north and south, so as to permit slave territory to stretch to the Pacific. When this failed they ceased to attach any value to the Missouri line for pro-slavery purposes. In fact, the old accepted principle of geographical delimitation for slavery on the basis of the Missouri Compromise was wholly destroyed by the act of 1850, which tacitly sanctioned the institution throughout the new Territories and consequently in an extensive portion of the country far to the north of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$.

The remaining Compromise acts, with the exception of the one establishing a more effective Fugitive Slave law, were rather inconsequential so far as the general question of slavery was concerned. Regarding Texas, the arrangement for a diminution of her territory in return for payment of a large sum of money by the United States, was mainly an accommodating financial transaction, in the interest of Texas and at the instance of the south. The provision for putting an end to the slave trade in the District of Columbia was merely a sop to northern sentiment.

Some pro-slavery measures offered during the Com-

promise proceedings were dropped, among these being an affirmation of the inability of Congress to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slaveholding States. The south wished to have this principle expressly stated and confirmed; but as none of the Compromises interfered with slavery as an established institution, and as it was felt to be of supreme importance in no way to prejudice the interests of the Fugitive Slave and New Mexico-Utah bills by other aggressive demands, the proposition was not pressed.

To secure the admission of California and the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, the north surrendered the Wilmot Proviso and accepted the Fugitive Slave law. The latter measure had been earnestly desired by the south. Technically, no one could successfully dispute the justification of the southern demand for it, which rested on the following provision of the Federal Constitution (Article IV, Section 2):

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

Agreeably to this stipulation Congress in 1793 passed a law for the rendition of fugitive slaves, which President Washington signed; but owing to the weakness of its provisions it was of little practical value to the south. The greatest aversion was felt at the north to all proceedings for reclaiming escaped slaves, and the pursuing southern owners had to contend against

formidable difficulties, to which not infrequently were added heavy expenses and varied experiences of personal mortification. It was idle to hope for any voluntary change in northern conduct respecting the relative rights and claims of the runaway negroes and their masters; and unless the latter were prepared philosophically to reconcile themselves to all the consequent losses there was only one remedy—coercion of the northern people by a drastic new law on the subject.

The resulting act was probably as extreme a measure, alike for the scope of its enforcement arrangements, the particularity of its mandatory directions, and the severity of its penalties for violations, disobediences, and even accidental failures to carry out its commands, as ever has been devised in the history of special legislation for purposes of class interest. All the machinery of the United States government was placed at the disposal of the slave proprietors, every citizen was under obligation to assist, and no fugitive had any right whatever.

Jurisdiction concerning slave cases was given to the Federal courts, *and, concurrently*, to such United States Commissioners as the Circuit Courts in the States or the Superior Courts in the Territories should appoint; the Commissioners were to act at all times, whether in term or during vacation of the courts; they had unlimited power to appoint persons to serve warrants on fugitives and arrest them; and all “bystanders” (designated as the “*posse comitatus*”) were ordered to aid in executing the law. United States

Marshals and their deputies were directed to execute warrants, etc., for the arrest and detention of fugitives, under penalty of \$1,000 for use of the "claimant" (*i. e.*, slaveowner) in any case of non-compliance; and in the event of the escape of a fugitive from the Marshal's custody, with or without the latter's knowledge and connivance, the Marshal was liable for the full value of the fugitive. Any owner or his attorney was authorized to seize the fugitive with or without warrant or process and take him before a Judge or Commissioner, who was to determine the case in a summary manner, and, upon proper deposition or affidavit being made, issue a certificate to the claimant; this certificate to be conclusive and to prevent all molestation of the claimant by means of any later court process, so that the fugitive could forthwith be taken back to the State from which he had fled; and the testimony of the fugitive was in no case to be admitted. Any person hindering an arrest, attempting a rescue, assisting in an escape directly or indirectly, or harboring or concealing a fugitive after having knowledge of the fact of his being a fugitive, was subject to a fine of \$1,000 and imprisonment for six months, and also could be sued, on an action for debt, to the amount of \$1,000 as damages for each fugitive lost. If the claimant "apprehended" a rescue after delivery of the fugitive to him, the officer who effected the arrest was required to take the slave back to the place of escape and was empowered to employ as many assistants as necessary for the successful performance of that duty—all the expenses thus incurred, including the cost of

transportation, to be paid out of the United States treasury as in the cases of criminals. To save the owner travel expense for the purposes of identification and action, an affidavit and general description made in his own State were to be valid for a reclamation in any other. There was also a provision for fees in connection with original processes of service and arrest, which, it was charged by the opponents of the law, were intended to stimulate diligence.

The debate on this measure, as on the other Compromise bills, was long and searching; and the action of all concerned in the two branches of Congress was therefore of the most deliberate character on both the grounds of opinion and policy. In the Senate the Democrats had a substantial majority, but the House was almost evenly divided. It would be wrong to characterize the Fugitive Slave bill as either a Democratic or Whig party measure. It was purely a southern slaveholders' measure. But the ultimate responsibility was assigned by the anti-slavery people to the Whig party as the one in power. All the great conservative Whig influences were for it. Webster, as a member of the Senate during its early pendency, approved its principle (though with some objections as to details), declared that the south was entitled to it, and predicted that the north would on due consideration fulfill with "great alacrity" the constitutional obligation involved; and, at the time of its passage, having become Secretary of State, he, with all the other members of the cabinet, concurred in the President's decision to sign it. The Senate passed the bill

by 27 yeas to 12 nays, with 21 not voting; the House by 109 yeas to 75 nays—not voting, 48. It was approved by President Fillmore on September 18, 1850.

The Fugitive Slave law has been called “the death knell of the Whig party.” It proved also one of the most potent factors toward hastening disintegration of the whole conservative political sentiment of the north on the basic question of slavery. The very fact of the law’s absolute technical invulnerability from the constitutional point of view was regarded as the one overwhelming reason why the south should not have insisted on it if there had been any disposition on her part to facilitate a more moderate northern feeling about the slave system in general. All history has shown that it is precisely the things that are most technically correct and imprescriptible according to venerable statute and precedent, that become least justifiable and expedient with changed times and conditions. The north was coerced, and every northerner who gave the matter the least attention realized that the coercion was directly personal to himself. But it was not in the power of the south to extend the coercion to thought on the subject of slavery, or to action concerning its remaining political issues. The day of Clay and Webster was closing, and a new generation of leaders, like Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, and William H. Seward, of New York, was already on the scene. It was not toward compromises or the equilibrium of the sections that these men were impelled by the record so far made on slavery questions, but toward positive results for freedom.

With the enactment of the Compromise bills, the preparations for the campaign of 1852 were practically concluded. Although the Fugitive Slave law excited intense feeling, the Compromise legislation as a whole was generally accepted throughout the country. Conservative influences everywhere were exercised toward discouraging further political differences about slavery; and for more than three years no new issue on the subject arose in Congress.

Democratic Party

National convention held in Baltimore, June 1-5, 1852; chairman, John W. Davis, of Indiana. The two-thirds rule was again adopted, a large majority being in its favor.

There was a very spirited, but not bitter, contest for the Presidential nomination. The principal candidates on the first ballot were Lewis Cass, of Michigan, 116 votes; James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, 93; Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, 20; and William L. Marcy, of New York, 27. During the struggle each of these four candidates at some stage had the lead, but not sufficiently to secure even a majority. On the thirty-fifth ballot the name of Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for the first time appeared among those voted for, 15 votes being cast for him. He was nominated almost unanimously on the forty-ninth ballot.

William R. King, of Alabama, was nominated for Vice-President by a unanimous vote on the second ballot.

Platform:

Resolutions 1 to 7, inclusive, were those having the same numbers in the platform of 1848.

"8. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

"9. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

"10. *Resolved*, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

"11. *Resolved*, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of the soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit that swept the Alien and Sedition laws from our statute-book.

"12. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others made to

induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

"13. *Resolved*, That the foregoing proposition covers, and is intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the 'Compromise' measures settled by the last Congress—the 'act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor' included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

"14. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

"15. *Resolved*, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national object specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

"16. *Resolved*, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

"17. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as con-

stituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

"18. *Resolved*, That the war with Mexico, upon all the principles of patriotism and the law of nations, was a just and necessary war on our part, in which no American citizen should have shown himself opposed to his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or deed, have given aid and comfort to the enemy.

"19. *Resolved*, That we rejoice at the restoration of friendly relations with our sister republic of Mexico, and earnestly desire for her all the blessings and the prosperity which we enjoy under republican institutions; and we congratulate the American people on the results of that war, which have so manifestly justified the policy and conduct of the Democratic party and insured to the United States indemnity for the past and security for the future.

"20. *Resolved*, That in view of the condition of popular institutions in the old world a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democracy of this country, as the party of the people, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of States, and to sustain and advance among them constitutional liberty by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people."

The important resolutions were 12, 13, 14, 17, and 20, which, taken together, constituted the matured Democratic doctrine on the slavery issues as developed up to that time and the essential related matters of national powers and State rights. They expressed beyond the possibility of doubt the complete and final determination of the party to abide by the early theories, principles, and decisions of conservatism and

reservations for and on behalf of the States individually—which meant, so far as slavery was concerned, an entire toleration of the institution and resistance to agitations or measures against it as dangerous to the Union because of the irreconcilable differences that would result. As yet the Democratic party did not go to the length of defining its position regarding slavery extension. That subject was not at issue in the campaign, except as it was collateral to the unqualified approbation of the Compromise acts.

Whig Party

National convention held in Baltimore, June 16-19, 1852; chairman, John G. Chapman, of Maryland.

President Fillmore was a candidate for renomination, and was warmly supported by nearly all the southern delegates, and by some from the north who, regarding his administration as satisfactory to the country and the opposition to him by the anti-slavery Whigs as unjust, felt that the party could not consistently refuse him its endorsement. Until toward the end of the protracted balloting his vote fell off but little, and even at the conclusion it showed no such collapse as frequently happens in a national convention when the favorite at the start goes down to defeat. His failure to be nominated was due to the reluctant but strong conviction of the majority of the convention that he would not be able to counteract the prejudice excited by his signature of the Fugitive Slave bill. Vote on the first ballot:—Fillmore, 133; General Winfield Scott, of New Jersey, 131; Daniel Webster,

29. Fifty-third and last ballot:—Scott, 159; Fillmore, 112; Webster, 21.

For Vice-President, William A. Graham, of North Carolina, was nominated on the second ballot.

Platform:

"The Whigs of the United States, in convention assembled, adhering to the great conservative principles by which they are controlled and governed, and now as ever relying upon the intelligence of the American people, with an abiding confidence in their capacity for self-government and their devotion to the Constitution and the Union, do proclaim the following as the political sentiments and determination for the establishment and maintenance of which their national organization as a party was effected:

"First. The government of the United States is of a limited character, and is confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted by the Constitution and such as may be necessary and proper for carrying the granted powers into full execution, and that powers not granted or necessarily implied are reserved to the States respectively and to the people.

"Second. The State governments should be held secure as to their reserved rights, and the general government sustained in its constitutional powers, and that the Union should be revered and watched over as the palladium of our liberties.

"Third. That while struggling freedom everywhere enlists the warmest sympathy of the Whig party we still adhere to the doctrines of the Father of his Country, as announced in his Farewell Address, of keeping ourselves free from all entangling alliances with foreign countries and never quitting our own to stand upon foreign grounds; that our mission as a republic is not to propagate our opinions, or impose upon other countries our form of government by artifice or force, but to teach by example and show by our success, moderation, and justice the blessings of self-government and the advantages of free institutions.

"Fourth. That, as the people make and control the government, they should obey its Constitution, laws, and treaties as they would



MARTIN VAN BUREN

Martin Van Buren, 8th president; born at Kinderhook, N. Y., December 5, 1782; lawyer; surrogate of Columbia county; member of state senate, 1813-20; attorney general of state of New York, 1815-19; delegate to state constitutional convention, 1821; United States senator from March 4, 1821 to 1828, when he resigned to become governor of New York State; resigned March 12, 1829 to become secretary of state of the United States; resigned August 1, 1831, having been appointed minister to Great Britain, but the senate rejected the nomination; elected vice president, 1832; elected president in 1836; defeated for re-election in 1840; anti-slavery candidate for president in 1848; died at Kinderhook, N. Y., July 24, 1862.

retain their self-respect and the respect which they claim and will enforce from foreign powers.

"Fifth. Governments should be conducted on principles of the strictest economy, and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof in time of peace ought to be derived mainly from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxes; and in laying such duties sound policy requires a just discrimination, and, when practicable, by specific duties, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry equally to all classes and to all portions of the country.

"Sixth. The Constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbors and remove obstructions from navigable rivers whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defense and for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations or among the States, said improvements being in every instance national and general in their character.

"Seventh. The Federal and State governments are parts of one system, alike necessary for the common prosperity, peace, and security, and ought to be regarded alike with a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment. Respect for the authority of each, and acquiescence in the just constitutional measures of each, are duties required by the plainest considerations of national, State, and individual welfare.

"Eighth. That the series of acts of the Thirty-second Congress, the act known as the Fugitive Slave law included, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace; and, so far as they are concerned, we will maintain them and insist upon their strict enforcement until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity for further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand and the abuse of their powers on the other, not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union."

Except for its brevity, manner of detailed treatment, and some differences on miscellaneous topics which the general public was not inclined to consider important, the Whig platform was identical with the Democratic. It was dictated by the southern delegates, who, on the first day of the convention, held a caucus and decided on the resolutions that they would accept.¹ The last plank, which was as absolute and comprehensive an endorsement of the southern position as the Democrats had put forth, was warmly debated by the convention and adopted by a vote of 212 to 70.² There was not an expression or allusion in the platform that could be construed as of sympathetic feeling toward the great anti-slavery constituency of the Whig party.

In nominating General Scott the party was understood to have been actuated by the same spirit of discretion that it had so conspicuously shown and that had proved so wise in 1848. He had in no way been identified with the controversies on the slavery question, and was expected, on account of his colorless views, military distinction, and the high respect in which he was held, to be acceptable to the whole country. It could well be said that he belonged equally to both sections, as he was a southerner by birth and ancestry but a northerner by residence.

The old-line Whig leaders fully believed that the Compromises of 1850 had settled the slavery issue. The party had been founded and maintained for ideas

¹Edward Stanwood, *A History of Presidential Elections*, p. 183.

²Greeley and Cleveland's *Political Text-Book for 1860*, p. 19.

and purposes not at all concerned with slavery, had accordingly become thoroughly established at the south as well as the north, preëminently represented practical men, and was utterly incapable of successful conversion into an organization for the affirmation and promotion of the comparatively new and very doubtful cause of political anti-slavery. Throughout its career it had been characteristically an opposition party, successful only when the mistakes or factional troubles of the Democrats gave it an advantage, and even after its greatest triumphs had had the ill-fortune of soon finding them almost fruitless. It was in no position to compete with the Democrats on the slavery question, and therefore was most happy to persuade itself that its vexations were really ended by the Compromises.

Free Soil Party

Convention held in Pittsburgh, August 11, 1852; chairman, Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. All the free States were represented, together with Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Virginia.

Nominations:—For President, John P. Hale, of New Hampshire; for Vice-President, George W. Julian, of Indiana.

Platform:

“Having assembled in national convention as the Free Democracy of the United States, united by a common resolve to maintain right against wrong, and freedom against slavery; confiding in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the American people; putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause and invoking

His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, we now submit to the candid judgment of all men the following declaration of principles and measures:

"First. That governments deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed are instituted among men to secure to all those inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness with which they are endowed by their Creator, and of which none can be deprived by valid legislation, except for crime.

"Second. That the true mission of American Democracy is to maintain the liberties of the people, the sovereignty of the States, and the perpetuity of the Union by the impartial application to public affairs, without sectional discrimination, of the fundamental principles of human rights, strict justice, and an economical administration.

"Third. That the Federal government is one of limited powers derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of powers therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

"Fourth. That the Constitution of the United States, ordained to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty, expressly denies to the general government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; and therefore the government, having no more power to make a slave than to make a king, and no more power to establish slavery than to establish a monarchy, should at once proceed to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of slavery wherever it possesses constitutional power to legislate for its extinction.

"Fifth. That to the persevering and importunate demands of the slave power for more slave States, new slave Territories, and the nationalization of slavery, our distinct and final answer is: No more slave States, no slave Territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves.

"Sixth. That slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man, which no human enactment nor usage can make right; and that Christianity, humanity, and patriotism alike demand its abolition.

"Seventh. That the Fugitive Slave act of 1850 is repugnant to

the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world. We therefore deny its binding force on the American people, and demand its immediate and total repeal.

"Eighth. That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our government and is dangerous to the liberties of the people.

"Ninth. That the acts of Congress known as the Compromise measures of 1850, by making the admission of a sovereign State contingent upon the adoption of other measures demanded by the special interest of slavery; by their omission to guarantee freedom in the free Territories; by their attempt to impose unconstitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and the people to admit new States; by their provisions for the assumption of five millions of the State debt of Texas and for the payment of five millions more, and the cession of large territory to the same State under menace as an inducement to the relinquishment of a groundless claim; and by their invasion of the sovereignty of the States and the liberties of the people through the enactment of an unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional Fugitive Slave law, are proved to be inconsistent with all the principles and maxims of Democracy, and wholly inadequate to the settlement of the questions of which they are claimed to be an adjustment.

"Tenth. That no permanent settlement of the slavery question can be looked for except in the practical recognition of the truth that slavery is sectional and freedom national; by the total separation of the general government from slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of freedom; and by leaving to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.

"Eleventh. That all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil; and that as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as their right to life itself.

"Twelfth. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the

people and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.

“Thirteenth. That a due regard for the Federal Constitution and a sound administrative policy demand that the funds of the general government be kept separate from banking institutions; that inland and ocean postage should be reduced to the lowest possible point; that no more revenue should be raised than is required to defray the strictly necessary expenses of the public service and to pay off the public debt; and that the power and patronage of the government should be diminished by the abolition of all unnecessary offices, salaries, and privileges, and by the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the United States so far as may be consistent with the prompt and efficient transaction of the public business.

“Fourteenth. That river and harbor improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations or among the several States, are objects of national concern, and it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide for the same.

“Fifteenth. That emigrants and exiles from the old world should find a cordial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new; and every attempt to abridge their privilege of becoming citizens and owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with inflexible determination.

“Sixteenth. That every nation has a clear right to alter or change its own government, and to administer its own concerns, in such manner as may best secure the rights and promote the happiness of the people; and foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the law of nations, against which all independent governments should protest and endeavor by all proper means to prevent; and especially is it the duty of the American government, representing the chief republic of the world, to protest against, and by all proper means to prevent, the intervention of kings and emperors against nations seeking to establish for themselves republican or constitutional governments.

“Seventeenth. That the independence of Hayti ought to be re-

cognized by our government, and our commercial relations with it placed on the footing of the most favored nations.

"Eighteenth. That as, by the Constitution, 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States,' the practice of imprisoning colored seamen of other States while the vessels to which they belong lie in port, and refusing the exercise of the right to bring such cases before the Supreme Court of the United States to test the legality of such proceedings, is a flagrant violation of the Constitution and an invasion of the rights of the citizens of other States, utterly inconsistent with the professions made by the slaveholders that they wish the provisions of the Constitution faithfully observed by every State in the Union.

"Nineteenth. That we recommend the introduction into all treaties hereafter to be negotiated between the United States and foreign nations, of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by a resort to decisive arbitration.

"Twentieth. That the Free Democratic party is not organized to aid either the Whig or Democratic wing of the great slave-compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that, repudiating and denouncing both as hopelessly corrupt and utterly unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the Free Democracy is to take possession of the Federal government and administer it for the better protection of the rights and interests of the whole people.

"Twenty-first. That we inscribe on our banner Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it we will fight on, and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

"Twenty-second. That upon this platform the convention presents to the American people as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and as a candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States, George W. Julian, of Indiana, and earnestly commends them to the support of all freemen and all parties."

The Election

Neither the Democratic nor Whig sympathizers with anti-slavery principles were to any considerable extent disposed to repeat their previous third party experiments. Leaving the slavery question out of consideration, party convictions and affections were strong. As both the great parties had fully accepted the Compromises, there was no real question between them. The Democrats were again united. Among the northern Whigs there was felt much dejection and disgust on account of the purposeless position of the party, and in the south the greatly superior strength of the Democrats was from the beginning of the canvass beyond doubt. The Whig party suffered a crushing defeat.

For President and Vice-President, Electoral vote :

Franklin Pierce and William R. King, Democrats:—Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 4; California, 4; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Florida, 3; Georgia, 10; Illinois, 11; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 4; Louisiana, 6; Maine, 8; Maryland, 8; Michigan, 6; Mississippi, 7; Missouri, 9; New Hampshire, 5; New Jersey, 7; New York, 35; North Carolina, 10; Ohio, 23; Pennsylvania, 27; Rhode Island, 4; South Carolina, 8; Texas, 4; Virginia, 15; Wisconsin, 5. Total, 254. Elected.

Winfield Scott and William A. Graham, Whigs:—Kentucky, 12; Massachusetts, 13; Tennessee, 12; Vermont, 5. Total, 42.

Popular vote :

Pierce, 1,601,474; Scott, 1,386,578; Hale, 156,149.

1856

Thoughtful men at the north had not failed to realize the grave import of the new principle of neutrality on the part of the national government concerning slavery extension which was made the distinguishing feature of the legislation for erecting the Territories of Utah and New Mexico. Recognition was thereby given slavery as having, to the extent that the legislation territorially applied, an equal right to future expansion altogether without either the prejudice of an unfriendly predisposition toward the institution itself or the circumspection of a politic and discriminating treatment of it as a local system requiring to be geographically constricted. This recognition was generally supposed, until the year 1854, to have been in intent and probable effect only a nominal concession to the south in return for freedom in California; but its great potentialities for trouble were manifest if the south should decide to urge an aggressive claim to more territory for slavery upon the basis of accepted principles.

In all the debate on the Compromise measures there had occurred no serious reference to a possible imperilment of the Missouri compact as the result of the slavery-neutrality policy for the new Territories carved out of the Mexican cession. The guarantee by the Missouri compact of complete and perpetual slavery prohibition in all the unorganized territory of

the Louisiana Purchase north of the line $36^{\circ} 30'$ was consequently assumed to remain inviolate and inviolable. Already, pursuant to the compact, Iowa and Minnesota, fronting the Mississippi River on the west and running northward from Missouri, had been organized with free institutions: Iowa had been admitted as a State (1846), and Minnesota had been organized as a Territory (1849). To the westward of the tier Missouri-Iowa-Minnesota, the region guaranteed to freedom by the Missouri compact stretched to the crest of the Rocky Mountains (where it joined the Mexican cession and Oregon Territory)—with an area of nearly 500,000 square miles, comprehending the present States of Kansas and Nebraska, parts of South and North Dakota¹ and Colorado, and nearly all of Wyoming and Montana. In this entire country no Territory had yet been established. It was still dedicated to the aborigines, and so devoid was it of any pretension to settlement that it contained at the beginning of 1854 hardly a thousand white people.

At that time the free and slave States, and their respective representations in the two houses of Congress, were as follows:

Free States.—California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin. Total States, 16. United States Senators, 32. Members of the House of Representatives, 144.

¹The larger part of the Dakotas was originally included in the Territory of Minnesota, which extended to the Missouri River.

Slave States.—Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Total States, 15. United States Senators, 30. Members of the House of Representatives, 90.

In addition, Oregon and Minnesota were in process of development into free States, and were expected to be qualified for admission in the near future. But there was not in the whole nation a single unit of erected territory to which the south could turn as an available element for reinforcing its declining strength in the Union. In the Louisiana Purchase south of 36° 30' there remained only that strip of "Indian Country" bounded on the east by Arkansas and on the south and west by Texas which later took the official name of Indian Territory and now constitutes the main part of Oklahoma; it was rigidly closed to settlement. Neither of the huge new Territories of Utah and New Mexico was regarded by the country as adaptable to early statehood. Utah had a troublesome Mormon population, and New Mexico, on account of its remote situation and lack of inducements to immigrants, was not likely to show the requisite development for many years. Both Utah and New Mexico, moreover, as arid and mountainous regions, were unsuited to the employment of slave labor.

A national situation both politically and territorially, therefore, had become fully established which placed the south at a distinct and increasing disadvantage, subject only to the moderate disposition of the north

concerning sectional and slavery questions existing or to arise. It was the fact of this situation that led to the Compromises of 1850 and induced the conservative elements of both sections to regard them as conclusive. The possibilities of any other solution than that of compromise with subsequent complete observance of its principles and arrangements, were felt to be too appalling even to be thought of. Already there was an insistent sentiment at the south, represented by young leaders of great ability and popularity, that demanded the full measure of southern interests regardless of consequences, even to the extremity of disunion. At various southern State elections as early as 1850-51 this sentiment had been strongly manifested. But the influence of the older southern leaders (both Democrats and Whigs) and of the more substantial classes generally, was wholly for Unionism and continued accommodation in accord with the similar spirit that unquestionably controlled the north at that period. There exists no evidence of any new overt intentions, except in relation to Cuba, on the part of the prevailing forces at the south from the time of the settlement of 1850 until the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854.¹

During the brief Congressional session extending from December, 1852, to March, 1853 (the close of Fillmore's administration), an attempt was made to organize out of the Louisiana Purchase a Territory which it was at first proposed to call Platte and later

¹See James F. Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*; also Theodore Clarke Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, vol. xviii of *The American Nation*.

Nebraska. The bill originated in the House, which passed it; in the Senate it was reported without amendment from the committee on Territories by Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, as chairman of the committee, but was defeated by southern votes, many northern members refraining from voting. As it was silent on slavery and hence did not disturb the Missouri compact, it caused no stir.

On the 4th of January, 1854, Douglas reported to the Senate a new Nebraska bill, accompanied by an explanation, in which it was stated that the committee, after due consideration, had decided to adhere to the principles of the Compromise measures of 1850 in relation to all new Territories, and therefore had adopted for every case the rule that "When admitted as a State, the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission." After some debate a substitute measure was offered (January 23), creating two Territories, Nebraska and Kansas, without the restriction of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which restriction, it was added, "being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void—it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their

own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

This Kansas-Nebraska bill, with its repeal of the Missouri Compromise, passed the Senate by 37 to 14 (11 not voting), and the House by 113 to 100 (21 not voting), and was signed by President Pierce on May 30, 1854.

For the repeal of the Missouri Compromise there can be no doubt that Douglas was primarily responsible. True, the desire to do away with it was not new. Individual southerners, especially Calhoun, had contended that the measure was unconstitutional, and it had been exceedingly distasteful to all southern statesmen, including those who originally accepted it in 1820; but no proposal to abrogate it had ever been urged in Congress. "From the circumstances under which the Missouri Compromise was enacted," says Rhodes, "from the fact that it received the seal of constitutionality from an impartial President [Monroe] and a thoroughly representative cabinet, it had been looked upon as having the moral force of an article of the Constitution itself." Certainly Douglas, in initiating the repeal, was not inspired by any public demand from the south. In a recent historical discussion¹ it is shown that Senator David R. Atchison, of Missouri, exerted a strong persuading influence upon Douglas, and the view is therefore maintained that Atchison was the real author of the repeal. This may be conceded

¹*The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise: Its Origin and Authorship*, by P. Orman Ray.

without, however, altering the fact that the practical responsibility is to be assigned to Douglas. He is said to have been actuated by the desire of cultivating a more favorable southern disposition toward his nomination for the Presidency in 1856. However, his action was entirely consistent with his record and his positively announced opinions ever since the new slavery questions sprang up during the Mexican War. He had voted against the Wilmot Proviso while a member of the House, and had been actively identified with the legislation of 1850 for Congressional non-intervention regarding slavery in New Mexico and Utah. He firmly held that the only correct basis for settling the slavery issue in the Territories was that of an equal chance for each side—"popular sovereignty." Respecting the slavery institution itself, he always expressed unconcern; on that subject his mind was receptive to no other idea than that the people locally had the right to "vote it up or vote it down" without national tutelage or interference. After the failure of the original Nebraska bill of 1853, which contained no reference to the Missouri restriction, it was apparent that the south would not consent to the organization of new Territories in the Louisiana Purchase upon the plan of slavery inhibition. Early Territorial organization in that quarter was demanded by the people of Missouri;—and a bill embodying the popular sovereignty principle seemed to Douglas eminently practical as well as logical.

As created by the act, Kansas and Nebraska Territories comprised the whole of the formerly unorgan-

ized part of the Louisiana Purchase north of the present southern line (37°) of Kansas. Like all the large Territories established from the beginning of the government, they were subject to ultimate partition, for additional State purposes, according to the discretion of Congress in due time. Kansas was made very much smaller than Nebraska; the former, in its south to north extent, was wholly adjacent to the slave State of Missouri, while Nebraska, except for a small part of its southern area, coincided with the western bounds of the free State of Iowa and free Territory of Minnesota. Manifestly, it was intended and expected that Kansas would be settled from Missouri and the south and have slavery, and that Nebraska would be left undisputedly to the north and freedom. To the minds of those who for various reasons believed in political concessions to the south, this was an ideal arrangement.

But northern sentiment instantaneously and unqualifiedly repudiated the plan as violative of a settled national principle and time-honored compact, and as purely donative to slavery. On January 24 (the day after the presentation in the Senate of the perfected Kansas-Nebraska bill with the specific Missouri Compromise repeal), an influential group of Democratic Senators and Representatives, headed by Chase and Sumner, issued a powerful deliverance entitled, "Appeal of the Independent Democrats in Congress to the People of the United States," in which the measure was bitterly denounced and Douglas was accused of sacrificing the interests of the country to promote his chances for the Presidency. "Will the people," it was



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

William Henry Harrison, 9th president; born at Berkeley, Va., February 9, 1773; physician; served in indian wars; appointed secretary of the Northwest territory and served as its delegate to congress from March 4, 1799 to March, 1800; territorial governor of Indiana, 1801-1813; defeated the british and indians at Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811; elected to congress and served from December 2, 1816 to March 3, 1819; member state senate, 1819-21; United States senator from March 4, 1825 to May 20, 1828; minister to Columbia from May 24, 1828 to September 6, 1829; president of the United States from March 4, 1841 until his death, which took place April 4, 1841 at Washington, D. C.

asked, "permit their dearest interests to be thus made the hazard of a Presidential game?" Strenuous opposition was offered to the bill by eminent Whig, as well as Democratic, leaders of both houses. All over the north it was condemned by great popular meetings, and similar action was taken by State Legislatures and other bodies. Following its final passage and signature the opposition began to crystallize into a new political party. The supporters of the general movement of opposition, embracing former Whigs, regular Democrats, and Free Soilers, were called "Anti-Nebraskans"; but after a few months the name "Republican party" had been adopted by many of them and some organizations had been formally established.

At the south the move for opening the Louisiana Purchase to slavery was altogether unexpected, and, being of northern origin, was not immediately regarded with particular interest. The north's intense hostility to the bill, however, had a natural reaction upon the southern people, and they came solidly to its support. Meantime there arose a determined northern sentiment against resigning Kansas to slavery, which signified an active competition for its control by the only remaining means of the settlement of free-State men on its lands. Thus began the great struggle for Kansas. Its dramatic and complicated history need not here be narrated. We are concerned only with its national political bearings and results.

Authentic writers regard the northern migration to Kansas as in by far its greater part voluntary. To most of the northern emigrants the cause appealed, and to all

the virgin and fertile soil of the Territory meant opportunity. There were, however, organized agencies of encouragement and help. One of these was the New England Emigrant Aid Society, which furnished transportation and supplies to emigrants, loaned them money for the erection of hotels, mills, etc., and otherwise stood ready to care for their interests. Its operations became the subject of severe comments in Missouri and the south, which took the form of allegations that great and wealthy organizations at the north were systematically working to fill Kansas with fanatical Abolitionists and so seize the lands to which the Missourians had the first and best claim and deprive the south of the new State rightfully belonging to her. The natural ill-feeling in Missouri against the incoming northern men was greatly increased by these charges, and the settlement of Kansas by the rival forces was therefore begun under the most alarming conditions. In western Missouri pro-slavery sentiment was rampant, and the slave population was estimated at 50,000—an abundant source of supply for the plantation of a flourishing slave system in Kansas. When the first free immigrants arrived, slaves had already been introduced, lands taken up, and town foundations laid by Missouri men.

The contest for political control was started without delay. One of the provisions of the Territorial act granted immediate suffrage to all white men becoming inhabitants, inclusive of aliens who declared on oath their intention to be citizens. At an election in November, 1854, for a Territorial Delegate to Congress,

and another in March, 1855, for a Territorial Legislature, large bands of armed Missourians came across the border, voted, prevented many free-State men from voting, and then returned; on the latter occasion 5,427 pro-slavery votes were cast out of a total of 6,320, although it was well known that there were at the time less than 3,000 legal voters in the Territory.¹ The first Territorial Legislature met in July, 1855, was made unanimously pro-slavery by the expulsion of several opposition members, and passed various acts of extreme character in the interest of slavery. Following these events the free settlers adopted a State Constitution at a convention in Topeka in the fall of 1855, and held elections (not participated in by the pro-slaveryites) at which the Constitution was ratified and State officers and legislators were chosen. As these proceedings were held to be irregular and in conflict with national authority, the new State regime was suppressed, its Governor being arrested and its Legislature dispersed by Federal troops when it assembled in July, 1856. But while the pro-slavery people had secured temporary legal control their opponents were determined to gain the mastery in the end. Hatred, outrages, and violence attended by tragical incidents had meantime constantly increased. The two parties were arrayed in deadly hostility. They had come to the verge of an armed clash in force during the "Wakarusa

¹An enumeration of the inhabitants and qualified voters of the Territory had been taken under Federal auspices in January-February, 1855, which resulted as follows: Total population, 8,501; white natives of the United States, 7,161; of foreign birth, 409; slaves, 242; free negroes, 151; total voters, 2,905.

war" in the winter of 1855-56, and passions had been still further inflamed by the attack on the "free-Staters'" town of Lawrence (May, 1856), which resulted in burning the Emigrant Aid Society's hotel and other acts of destruction. So the situation stood at the time of the opening of the Presidential campaign of 1856.

The enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was followed by surprising developments in the field of national politics. Notwithstanding the terrible defeat of the Whig party in 1852, its leaders had hoped that it would show revival as the Democratic party had done after 1840. This hope was now seen to be futile, as on the issue of further slavery extension the anti-slavery people were resolved upon uncompromising political action. Coincidentally with the formation and rise of the new Republican party occurred the inception and rapid progress of the "Know-Nothing" movement—so called from the essential feature of its secret and oath-bound basis, all who joined being required to profess that they knew nothing about it. It sought to exclude foreigners generally, and especially Roman Catholics, from public office. As a political organization it took the name of the "American party."

At the Congressional elections in the fall of 1854 the two new parties won notable successes and the Pierce administration was left in a minority in the House of Representatives. Owing to the great political confusion resulting from the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the dissolution of the Whig party, and the formidable development of Know-Nothingism, no deter-

minate classification of the Representatives-elect by generic designations was possible; even that eminent political authority, the "Tribune Almanac," met with but indifferent success in attempting to group them. There were pro-slavery and anti-slavery Democrats, Whigs, and Know-Nothings; Republicans; Free Soilers; Anti-Nebraskans with no declared party affiliation; fusionists of several varieties; and independents of miscellaneous views and tendencies. When the new House assembled for organization in December, 1855, the consolidated Anti-Nebraskans (of whom the Republicans formed the predominating element), while considerably more numerous than the pro-slavery Democrats, lacked a majority, the balance being held by the pro-slavery Know-Nothings and Whigs and the members more or less indifferent about slavery. It was found impossible to elect a Speaker under the majority rule, and after two months consumed in balloting the House voted (February 2, 1856) to decide the contest by a plurality, whereupon Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, Republican, was chosen by 103 votes to 100 for his principal opponent, William Aiken, a southern Democrat. This was the first national Republican victory.

The 1854 elections brought no change, however, in the Senate, which continued Democratic by an extremely large majority; and they were altogether without modifying effect upon the administration's Kansas policy. But a sobering influence was exerted in another direction. Before the Kansas issue came up the administration had taken a course plainly looking to

an early demand upon Spain for cession to us of the island of Cuba. The diplomatic situation had become strained by certain events, which, however, in no manner justified extreme measures; but those were times throughout the world of slight scruple concerning details of justification when weighty national interests were involved and favorable opportunities for their realization were offered. The south was most anxious to acquire Cuba for the erection of new slave States; and in the case of war becoming necessary the people at large were expected to support the government on the undebatable principle of "My country, right or wrong." After matters had progressed to a stage requiring a decision, Secretary of State Marcy directed our Minister at the Spanish court, Pierre Soulé, to confer with James Buchanan, Minister to England, and John Y. Mason, Minister to France, and, in agreement with them, formulate an advisory program of policy. The three diplomats met at Ostend, Belgium (autumn of 1854), and drew up the celebrated paper known as the Ostend Manifesto, in which it was proposed to pay Spain \$120,000,000 for Cuba and declaration was made that, as the island was necessary to our safety and to the preservation of our internal repose, we would, in the event of Spain's refusal to sell, be justified in wresting it from her.¹ On account of the excitement about

¹It may be affirmed with confidence that northern opinion, excited by the Kansas-Nebraska act, alone prevented this unjust war. . . . What a foolish piece of statecraft was that of the southern leaders in 1854! They obtained a fighting chance in Kansas, but they threw away the Pearl of the Antilles, the island which would have been a rock and a fortress for their Southern Confederacy.—Rhodes's *History*, vol. ii, p. 33.

Kansas and the critical position of the Democratic party, the administration decided not to risk an extra burden of unpopularity, and the project was abandoned. The facts were published some months later.

The struggle in Kansas was from its beginning regarded by the administration from the viewpoint of positive southern sympathy. In a special message to Congress on January 24, 1856, President Pierce discussed the causes and history of the troubles, and attributed them solely to "interference" by the northern anti-slavery people with the orderly and peaceful settlement of the Territory.

"This interference," wrote the President, "in so far as concerns its primary causes and its immediate commencement, was one of the incidents of that pernicious agitation of the subject of the condition of the colored persons held to service in some of the States, which has so long disturbed the repose of our country and excited individuals, otherwise patriotic and law-abiding, to toil with misdirected zeal in the attempt to propagate their social theories by the perversion and abuse of the powers of Congress.

"The persons and parties whom the tenor of the act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas thwarted in the endeavor to impose, through the agency of Congress, their particular views of social organization on the people of the future new States, now perceiving that the policy of leaving the inhabitants of each State to judge for themselves in this respect was ineradicably rooted in the convictions of the people of the Union, then had recourse, in the pursuit of their general object, to the extraordinary measure of propagandist colonization of the Territory of Kansas, to prevent the free and natural action of its inhabitants in its internal organization and thus to anticipate or to force the determination of that question in the inchoate State."

In other words, the President considered it wrong for the anti-slavery people to engage in formal competition

for control of the future State; the intent of the Congressional act was to thwart them from securing such control; and the only inhabitants of Kansas possessing a proper status in the opinion of the national government were those not identified with the interests and influences in behalf of making it a free State. Strange declarations indeed from the official head of the great political organization whose entire creed was based upon the doctrine of equal rights for all the people, and which throughout its long and illustrious history had accordingly enjoyed the special support of the free masses of the north, who assuredly had a valid claim to homes in Kansas and the right to endeavor to exclude slavery, that worst enemy of free labor. Yet the President's frank attitude was the only consistent one for the defense and carrying out of the Kansas-Nebraska act:—Kansas, it was held, logically belonged to the south and slavery, and any concerted free action was but an interference with the predetermined exclusive right of the slaveowners. The plan of "leaving the inhabitants to judge for themselves" (popular sovereignty, called by the irreverent "squatter sovereignty") was in its inception, so far as Kansas was concerned, wholly biased in favor of slavery, and all the ingenious pleas to convince the north of its democratic impartiality were utterly sophistical.

One of the early acts of the Republican House of Representatives was the adoption of a resolution directing the Speaker to appoint a special committee to proceed to Kansas and make an investigation concerning the troubles. The resulting committee after a minute

inquiry brought in a majority report (July, 1856) which was of very notable character for its charges and proofs against the pro-slavery faction, and which was used with powerful effect in the Presidential campaign. The notorious election frauds, intolerant enactments of the Territorial Legislature, and aggressive and barbarous doings of the pro-slavery partisans (especially the Missouri intruders) were treated in detail. A minority report was presented by the single Democratic member of the committee. This also was a highly interesting and important document. It embodied matters showing a by no means one-sided state of affairs in the respects of fanatical party spirit; lawless deeds, including dreadful cold-blooded murders; organized activities of warlike aspect, both provocative and by way of reprisal; and preparations for further armed strife. Evidence was given that the free-State people had for some time been receiving from the east shipments of the Sharps rifle (a military arm), with which, indeed, they had generally equipped themselves. These facts of the responsibility in part of the free settlers produced, however, little impression at the north except as they strengthened the hope that the free-State party would prove strong and resolute enough to gain the upper hand. There had been no concealment about the sending of Sharps rifles and other military equipment to Kansas; on that subject the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher delivered a celebrated address in his church in Brooklyn.

After the organization of the House by the Republicans several important measures relating to Kansas

were introduced and earnestly debated in that body and the Senate. With a view to pacification the Democrats passed in the Senate (July, 1856) the noted Toombs bill, which provided for an early election in the Territory for a Constitutional convention, the election to be held under Federal auspices and to be so regulated as to assure fairness to both sides and prevent all intimidation and illegal voting. This did not appeal to the Republicans, who, while conceding that the plan in detail, purely as a voting arrangement, was probably fair, asserted that their unyielding policy was to prevent the allowance of slavery in any Territory, and therefore that they could not leave the matter to chance. A more shrewd reason for the rejection of the Democratic overture has been suggested by some historical writers as having had weight with the Republican leaders—that of preferring, for campaign advantage, to have the chaotic conditions continue until the Presidential election.¹ As measures which alone would be acceptable from their point of view, the Republicans sought to secure the immediate admission of Kansas on the basis of the Topeka Constitution, and also to reenact the slavery inhibition of the Missouri Compromise. The Senate and House being at variance, the efforts of both parties for their particular ends failed, and the campaign was fought on the Kansas question without further material developments.

¹See especially Theodore Clark Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, pp. 166-169.

American Party (Know-Nothings)

Previously to 1854 this organization had been only in evolution on a system of profound secrecy even as to its name. Coming out from the dark at the elections of that year, the facts were seen to be that it was the political development and expression of an immense country-wide "order" founded on the most elaborate, tremendous, and astonishing ceremonials, mysteries, oaths, pledges, etc., with grips, raps, passwords, watchwords, signals (such as prescribed ways of reflectively and discreetly rubbing the nose and chin), regalias, rituals, rites, and degrees; that its official name (divulged only to those achieving the highest degree) was The Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner; that it was ruled and all its decisions were initiated and directed by an extraordinarily select inner body called the national council; that its practical program was to stigmatize, discriminate against, and substantially decitizenize large elements of its fellow-countrymen on account of their places of birth and religious persuasion; and yet that it expected the great American people—the most composite, cosmopolitan, liberal, and kindly people in the world—to accept it as The American party. The fate that speedily overtook it has served since as an effective warning to aspiring neophytes in politics. Grandiose pretensions by parties to the possession of singular virtues of Americanism, and corresponding egotism, gasconade, and braggadocio on the part of their illiberal followers, have perhaps not very much abated; but never has the experiment been repeated of

a serious and hopeful organization arrogating to itself the superlative style of The American party.

Greeley never spoke more sensibly than when, at the height of its popularity, he said: "It would seem as devoid of the elements of persistence as an anti-cholera or an anti-potato rot party would be."

Its first and only national nominating convention assembled in Pittsburgh on Washington's birthday, 1856, and continued in session four days, twenty-seven States being represented by 227 delegates, and Ephraim Marsh, of New Jersey, presiding. Previously to the coming together of the convention the "national council" of the "order" had met and adopted a platform for the party. When this was presented to the convention a bitter discussion arose on account of its non-committal treatment of the slavery question, and an amendment was offered declaring "That we will nominate for President and Vice-President no man who is not in favor of interdicting the introduction of slavery into territory north of 36° 30' by Congressional action";—defeated by 141 to 59, whereupon some seventy of the northern delegates refused to participate further in the proceedings.

Nominations:—For President, Millard Fillmore, of New York; for Vice-President, Andrew Jackson Donelson, of Tennessee.

Platform:

"1. An humble acknowledgment to the Supreme Being for His protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their successful Revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in

the preservation of the liberties, the independence, and the Union of these States.

"2. The perpetuation of the Federal Union and Constitution as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties and the only sure bulwark of American independence.

"3. Americans must rule America; and to this end native-born citizens should be selected for all State, Federal, and municipal offices, of government employment, in preference to all others; nevertheless,

"4. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad should be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens; but

"5. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth) who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, or who refuses to recognize the Federal and State Constitutions (each within its own sphere) as paramount to all other laws as rules of political action.

"6. The unqualified recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several States, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good-will between citizens of the several States, and, to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual States, and non-intervention by each State with the affairs of any other State.

"7. The recognition of the right of native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any Territory thereof, to frame their Constitution and laws and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the privilege of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one Representative in Congress.

"Provided always, That none but those who are citizens of the United States under the Constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such Territory, ought to participate in the formation of the Constitution or in the enactment of laws for said Territory or State.

"8. An enforcement of the principle that no State or Territory

ought to admit others than citizens to the right of suffrage or of holding political offices of the United States.

"9. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not hereinbefore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers or persons convicted of crime from landing upon our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

"10. Opposition to any union between church and state; no interference with religious faith or worship; and no test oaths for office.

"11. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.

"12. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws constitutionally enacted until said laws shall be repealed or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.

"13. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in removing 'Americans' (by designation) and conservatives in principle, from office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in a truckling subserviency to the stronger and an insolent and cowardly bravado toward the weaker powers; as shown in reopening sectional agitation by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the government; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudiced caprice; and as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations.

"14. Therefore, to remedy existing evils and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the 'American Party' upon the principles hereinbefore stated.

"15. That each State council shall have authority to amend their several constitutions so as to abolish the several degrees and substi-

tute a pledge of honor, instead of other obligations, for fellowship and admission into the party.

"16. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform."

Although no specific reference was made to the Roman Catholic church, horror of that denomination was one of the recognized and binding articles of the Know-Nothing faith. In 1855 the national council had adopted a platform which declared:

"8. Resistance to the aggressive policy and corrupting tendencies of the Roman Catholic church in our country, by the advancement to all political stations—executive, legislative, judicial, or diplomatic—of those only who do not hold civil allegiance, directly or indirectly, to any foreign power, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and who are Americans by birth, education, and training—thus fulfilling the maxim, 'Americans only shall govern America.'"

This plank, like the other declarations of the Know-Nothings, was not without the plausibility that generally attaches to matured deliverances by representative bodies. The trouble with the Know-Nothings was not that they lacked engaging words with which to present their ideas, but that they ignored the fundamental plan of popular institutions. Universal suffrage for loyal citizens had become as solidly and lastingly established as the country itself; and universal suffrage meant equal opportunities and privileges of civil influence and advancement for all, or it meant nothing. The imputation of disqualifying allegiances to the particular classes of citizens specified by the Know-Nothings was mere dogmatic assertion, and was not intended to assume any other character for conver-

sion into public action; there was no legalistic question or proof of disloyalty concerned or contemplated.

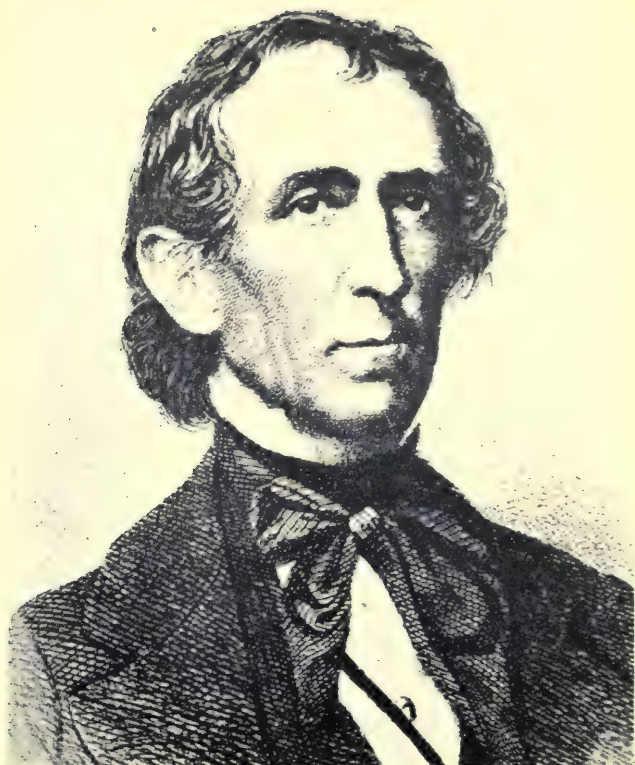
In the 1855 platform of the Know-Nothings an endeavor was made to remove the objection to the party on the score of its secrecy, one of the resolutions relieving members from their obligations of concealment in several respects.

The anti-slavery Know-Nothings held a convention in New York City on June 2, 1856, which demanded free Territories and a free Kansas and nominated Nathaniel P. Banks for President; he withdrew in favor of the Republican candidate, Fremont.

Democratic Party

National convention held in Cincinnati, June 2-6, 1856; temporary chairman, Samuel Medary, of Ohio; permanent chairman, John E. Ward, of Georgia. The two-thirds rule was readopted without opposition. Among the delegates were former prominent members of the Whig party.

There were three contestants for the Presidential nomination—President Pierce, James Buchanan, and Stephen A. Douglas. Vote on the first ballot:—Buchanan, 135½; Pierce, 122½; Douglas, 33; Lewis Cass, 5. Buchanan maintained the lead throughout the struggle, and on the thirteenth ballot received a majority. As it became evident that Pierce could not be nominated his name was withdrawn, and an effort was then made to combine his supporters and those of Douglas in favor of the latter. This was largely suc-



JOHN TYLER

John Tyler, 10th president; born at Greenway, Charles City county, Va., March 29, 1790; lawyer; member of house of delegates, 1811-16; served in congress from December 16, 1817 to March 3, 1821; again member of house of delegates, 1823-25; United States senator from March 4, 1827 to February 20, 1836, when he resigned; member of house of delegates, 1839; elected vice president, 1840; became president on the death of Harrison, April 4, 1841, and served until March 3, 1845; delegate to Confederate provisional convention, 1861; elected to Confederate congress, but before it assembled he died on January 18, 1862 at Richmond, Va.

cessful, but Buchanan retained his full strength and also received some of the Pierce votes. The sixteenth ballot stood:—Buchanan, 168; Douglas, 122; Cass, 5. Douglas, feeling that it would be improper for his friends to persist after the preference of a majority of the convention had been so clearly manifested, telegraphed his withdrawal. Buchanan was unanimously nominated on the seventeenth ballot. His selection was due to several weighty considerations:—he was one of the veteran leaders of the party; was expected to carry his State of Pennsylvania, which was believed to be indispensable to Democratic victory; and, having been absent from the country as Minister to England, was not directly identified with the Kansas disputation, yet was known to be as “safe,” from the southern point of view, as either Pierce or Douglas. He was moreover a man of preëminent public reputation and irreproachable character.

On the first ballot for Vice-President ten men were voted for. John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, received the unanimous vote of the convention on the second ballot.

The platform, adopted with practically no dissension—none whatever concerning the slavery question,—was as follows:

“Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

“Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and

practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

“Resolved, Therefore, that, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in a general convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declarations of principles avowed by them when, on former occasions, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

“1. That the Federal government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

“2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

“3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States contracted for local and internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

“4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

“5. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

"6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

"7. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

"8. That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

"9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

"10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition laws from our statute-book; and

"Whereas, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted

by our predecessors in national conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, and it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relation thereto and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called,

"Resolved, That the foundation of this Union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and preëminent example in free government built upon, entire freedom in matters of religious concernment and no respect of persons in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birthplace. And hence a political crusade in the Nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholic and foreign-born is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

"Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well-considered declarations of former conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery and concerning the reserved rights of the States:—

"1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

"2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this

national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the 'Compromise' measures, settled by the Congress of 1850, the 'act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor' included, which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

"3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

"That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

"And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively (on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, north and south, to the Constitution and the Union"—

"1. *Resolved*, That, claiming fellowship with and desiring the coöperation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue, and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the 'slavery question' upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union—NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY, OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

"2. That this was the basis of the Compromises of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national con-

ventions, ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

"3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of Territories and to the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery as they may elect, the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed, with a republican form of government.

"Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

"Resolved, finally, That in view of the condition of popular institutions in the old world (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land), a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of the States, and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

"1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States

to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

"2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other states of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine. Their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction; they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

"3. *Resolved*, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of the states most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for a free communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times and the unconquerable energy of our people. That result should be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with the relations it may suit our policy to establish between our government and the governments of the states within whose dominions it lies. We can under no circumstances surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

"4. *Resolved*, That, in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the interoceanic isthmus.

"5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain a permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our western valleys and of the Union at large.

"*Resolved*, That the Democratic party recognizes the great importance, in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and

speedy communication, by military and postal roads, through our own territory between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this Union, and that it is the duty of the Federal government to exercise promptly all its constitutional power for the attainment of that object.

"Resolved, That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to the great interests of the country. In the face of the most determined opposition it has maintained the laws, enforced economy, fostered progress, and infused integrity and vigor into every department of the government at home. It has signally improved our treaty relations, extended the field of commercial enterprise, and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad. It has asserted with eminent impartiality the just claims of every section, and has at all times been faithful to the Constitution. We therefore proclaim our unqualified approbation of its measures and its policy."

Republican Party

Constructed from the several elements of the "Anti-Nebraska" seceders from the old parties, the Republican organization, as we have seen, made its first contest at the State and Congressional elections of 1854. Various claims have been urged on behalf of individuals and localities for the distinction of the earliest adoption of its name. In the respect of State initiative and action the priority is incontestably to be awarded to Michigan. At a convention of Anti-Nebraskans of that State held at Jackson on July 6, 1854, a mixed State ticket of anti-slavery Whigs, Free Soil Democrats, and former regular Democrats who had voted for Pierce in 1852 was nominated, and a strong platform was adopted which declared: "We will coöperate and be known as 'Republicans' until the contest be terminated." Other State organizations that early took the

name Republican were those of Wisconsin and Vermont. With the approach of the Presidential campaign the Republican party had become everywhere recognized as comprising the united forces of political opposition to slavery.

As the result of a call issued by the party committees of the States of Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Vermont, and Wisconsin, a national meeting for purposes of conference convened in Pittsburgh on February 22, 1856. Twenty-three States were represented. Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, a former Democrat, was permanent chairman; and Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times* and a former Whig, was designated to prepare an "Address to the People"—which, being duly presented to the assemblage, received its unanimous approval and was issued as the first national declaration of the Republican party. Its essential expressions were:

"We demand, and shall attempt to secure, the repeal of all laws which allow the introduction of slavery into territory once consecrated to freedom, and will resist by every constitutional means the existence of slavery in any Territory of the United States.

"We will support by every lawful means our brethren in Kansas," and are "in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas as a free and independent State."

A committee was selected to call a national nominating convention.

Pursuant to call by this committee, the Republican party held its first national nominating convention in Philadelphia on June 17-19, 1856. Each State was in-

vited to send six delegates-at-large and three delegates from each Congressional district. The convention was unusually large for those times, having over 550 members. All the northern States were represented, and also Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, the District of Columbia, and the Territory of Kansas. Temporary chairman, Robert Emmet, of New York; permanent chairman, Henry S. Lane, of Indiana.

An offer of coöperation was received from the bolting (anti-slavery) faction of the Know-Nothings, but the convention rejected it. One of the chief reasons for the failure of the Free Soil party had been its proneness to fusions. The Republicans from the start very wisely avoided such fragile and transitory reliances. Know-Nothingism, moreover, was repugnant to their program of inviting the support of all opposed to slavery, including the naturalized citizens. In particular, the party had already enjoyed notable accessions from the Germans, who had been arriving in large numbers since 1848 and were known to be much inclined toward the predestined candidate, Fremont.

On an informal ballot for President, John C. Fremont, of California, received 359 votes; John McLean, of Ohio, 190; Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, 2; Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, 1; and William H. Seward, of New York, 1. Fremont was then nominated unanimously.

An informal ballot was also taken for Vice-President, which resulted as follows: William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, 253; Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, 110; Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, 46; David

Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, 43; Charles Sumner, 35; ten others, 52. Dayton was the unanimous choice on the next ballot.

Fremont was admittedly chosen for his availability. The situation demanded a nominee who would not be likely to repel any of the strongly prejudiced older voters on account of his previous party spirit and public course in relation to other matters than slavery, and whose personality would attract the young men. There was no claim that Fremont possessed marked attributes of political leadership; and in that regard it never afterward appeared that he had been underrated. Formerly a Democratic Senator from California, he had been defeated for reëlection (1851) because of his anti-slavery views; otherwise he was politically without either special antecedents or record. His most positive recommendation was his picturesque career at the far west, which had made his name familiar.

Platform:

"This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the Federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do

"Resolve, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

"Resolved, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal government were to secure these rights to all persons under its exclusive jurisdiction; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the Territories of the United States, by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or association of individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

"Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

"Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to 'form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty,' and contains ample provision for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office;

the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present national administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories either *before* or *after* the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

“Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

“Resolved, That the highwayman’s plea, that ‘might makes right,’ embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

“Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

“Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by

the Constitution and justified by the obligation of the government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

"Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and coöperation of men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and, believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantee liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security."

Whig Party

The Whigs who still adhered to their old party organization held a national convention in Baltimore, September 17-18, 1856. Delegates were present from twenty-six States, and Edward Bates, of Missouri, presided.

For President and Vice-President the nominees of the Know-Nothings, Millard Fillmore and Andrew Jackson Donelson, were endorsed.

Platform:

"Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States, now here assembled, hereby declare their reverence for the Constitution of the United States, their unalterable attachment to the national Union, and a fixed determination to do all in their power to preserve them for themselves and their posterity. They have no new principles to announce, no new platform to establish; but are content to broadly rest—where their fathers rested—upon the Constitution of the United States, wishing no safer guide, no higher law.

"Resolved, That we regard with the deepest interest and anxiety the present disordered condition of our national affairs—a portion of the country ravaged by civil war, large sections of our population embittered by mutual recriminations; and we distinctly trace these calamities to the culpable neglect of duty by the present national administration.

"Resolved, That the government of the United States was formed by the conjunction in political unity of widespread geographical sections, materially differing not only in climate and productions, but in social and domestic institutions; and that any cause that shall permanently array the different sections of the Union in political hostility and organize parties founded only on geographical distinctions, must inevitably prove fatal to a continuance of the national Union.

"Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States declare, as a fundamental article of political faith, an absolute necessity for avoiding geographical parties. The danger, so clearly discerned by the Father of his Country, has now become fearfully apparent in the agitation now convulsing the nation, and must be arrested at once if we would preserve our Constitution and our Union from dismemberment and the name of America from being blotted out from the family of civilized nations.

"Resolved, That all who revere the Constitution and the Union must look with alarm at the parties in the field in the present Presidential campaign—one claiming only to represent sixteen northern States, and the other appealing mainly to the passions and prejudices of the southern States; that the success of either faction must add fuel to the flame which now threatens to wrap our dearest interests in a common ruin.

"Resolved, That the only remedy for an evil so appalling is to support a candidate pledged to neither of the geographical sections now arrayed in political antagonism, but holding both in a just and equal regard. We congratulate the friends of the Union that such a candidate exists in Millard Fillmore.

"Resolved, That, without adopting or referring to the peculiar doctrines of the party which has already selected Mr. Fillmore as a candidate, we look to him as a well-trying and faithful friend of the Constitution and the Union, eminent alike for his wisdom and firmness; for his justice and moderation in our foreign relations; for his calm and pacific temperament, so well becoming the head of a great nation; for his devotion to the Constitution in its true spirit; his inflexibility in executing the laws; but, beyond all these attributes, in possessing the one transcendent merit of being a representative of

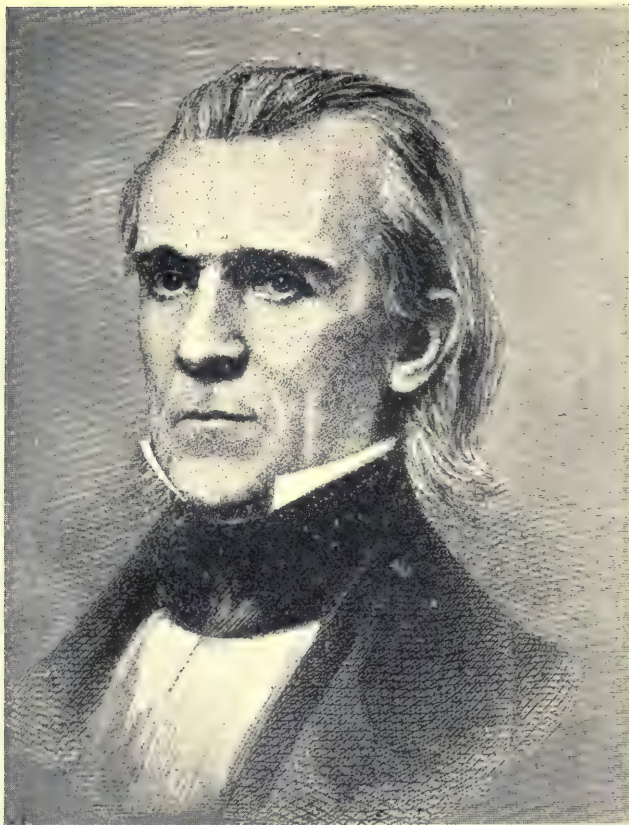
neither of the two sectional parties now struggling for political supremacy.

"Resolved, That in the present exigency of political affairs we are not called upon to discuss the subordinate questions of administration in the exercise of the constitutional power of the government. It is enough to know that civil war is raging and that the Union is in peril; and we proclaim the conviction that the restoration of Mr. Fillmore to the Presidency will furnish the best, if not the only, means of restoring peace."

The Election

The writer has before him that valuable and now very rare publication, "The Democratic Hand-Book of 1856," compiled by Mich. W. Cluskey and endorsed by the Democratic national committee. On the title-page are these words: "The success of the Democracy essential for the preservation of the Union and the protection of the integrity of the Constitution." In this sentiment was compacted the entire argument of the Democrats in the campaign. The volume embodies numerous documentary matters of great historical moment and interest, including profoundly able addresses delivered in Congress and before the public by Democratic and former Whig leaders of both the north and south—all contributory to the single claim that Buchanan's election was necessary to preserve the Union and Constitution. Interspersed through its pages are articles of the broadside kind, to the same purport. One of these is entitled:

"The Fearful Issue to be Decided in November Next! Shall the Constitution and the Union Stand or Fall! Fremont, the Sectional Candidate of the Advocates of Dissolution! Buchanan, the Candi-



JAMES K. POLK

James K. Polk, 11th president; born near Little Sugar Creek, Mecklenburg county, N. C., November 2, 1795; moved to Tennessee in 1806; lawyer; served in state legislature, 1823-25; in congress from March 4, 1825 to March 3, 1839; governor of Tennessee, 1839; elected president of the United States in 1844; declined renomination, 1848; died at Nashville, Tenn., June 15, 1849.

date of Those Who Advocate One Country! One Union! One Constitution! and One Destiny! Fremont and His Friends! Behold the Record!"

The record presented in the article consists of extreme utterances by prominent supporters of Fremont. Citation is made of the celebrated indiscretion of Banks, "I am willing in a certain state of circumstances to let it [the Union] 'slide'." The remark of the fiery Giddings, that he looked forward to the time when the torch "shall light up the towns and cities of the south, and blot out the last vestige of slavery," is instanced. Many other aggressive declarations by leading Republicans are given in support of the Democratic charge as to their indifference to consequences in the contest against slavery. Garrison, the arch-disunionist of the Abolitionists, is quoted as viewing the Republican movement with satisfaction.

As the campaign progressed, the intense enthusiasm of the radical people of the north for the Republican ticket was met by a marked disposition on the part of the more cautious to accept the Democratic view of the real danger of disunion. The coöperation given the Democratic party by eminent thinkers was certainly not comparable to that extended to the Republican party, yet was of notable weight, especially as representative of the intellectual and influential leaders of the conservative Whigs. One of the most powerful campaign documents in Buchanan's behalf was an open letter from Rufus Choate, written after mature reflection, in which the conviction was stated that the Republican movement was in its nature geographical, and

therefore that its triumph would "put the Union in danger." It was constantly alleged by Democratic newspapers and orators that for the first time in American history a great sectional party had arisen; that so extreme and exclusive was its sectionalism that by its nominations and platform it practically declared the people of the fifteen southern States its enemies; and that this hostility was fully reciprocated by the southerners and would unquestionably lead to their withdrawal from the Union in the event of Fremont's election. Fillmore, the candidate of the Know-Nothings, said: "Can we have the madness or folly to believe that our southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a Chief-Magistrate?"

But these attacks were in no way disconcerting to the Republicans. The campaign for Fremont was waged with the most complete conviction and vigor, and with a fervor of popular manifestation not witnessed since 1840. To the southern threats and northern forebodings of disunion the Republicans replied that they were not new, and were meant only to intimidate and bewilder.

On the merits of the one immediate issue, that of Kansas, conservative opinion was strengthened by the belief that a decision would soon be worked out in favor of the free settlers by the inexorable operation of economic law. Already it was considered morally certain that they were in a majority in the Territory; and in view of the tendency of free migration to move more actively, economically, and in larger volume than a slave-encumbered class interest, the ultimate over-

whelming preponderance of the free-State party seemed unquestionable. There were many who felt, on other grounds than those of party prepossession, that as the Democrats were committed to fair action by the Toombs bill and also by pledges made by Buchanan during the canvass, it would be wiser to settle the difficulty by vote than by a radical policy involving the danger of southern secession.

The election, as was expected by shrewd observers, was decided by Pennsylvania, which gave its vote to the Democratic candidate. Much disappointment was felt by the Republicans over the poor showing made by Fremont in his own State of California, where he ran third. But his success in such States as New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and all New England, showed the formidable power of the conjoined forces that so recently had come into operation. In the fifteen slave States Fremont had only 1,194 votes, divided as follows: Delaware, 308; Kentucky, 314; Maryland, 281; Virginia, 291. The Know-Nothing ticket carried only one State, Maryland, but, on account of the official Whig endorsement, received support in every State. Its total vote in the south was in round numbers 480,000; in the north, 394,500.

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge, Democrats:—Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 4; California, 4; Delaware, 3; Florida, 3; Georgia, 10; Illinois, 11; Indiana, 13; Kentucky, 12; Louisiana, 6; Mississippi, 7; Missouri, 9; New Jersey, 7; North Carolina, 10; Pennsylvania, 27; South Carolina, 8; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 4; Virginia, 15. Total 174. Elected.

John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton, Republicans:—Connecticut, 6; Iowa, 4; Maine, 8; Massachusetts, 13; Michigan, 6; New Hampshire, 5; New York, 35; Ohio, 23; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 5; Wisconsin, 5. Total, 114.

Millard Fillmore and Andrew Jackson Donelson, American party:—Maryland, 8.

Popular vote:

Buchanan, 1,838,169; Fremont, 1,335,264; Fillmore, 874,534.

PART III

PARTIES FROM 1860 TO 1920

HAVING reviewed the political history of the country from the foundation of the government until the final reconstruction of parties in the years 1854-56, we may now terminate both the explanatory narration and the accessory discussion. For the treatment of the historical facts from 1856 to the present time the reader is referred to the formal sketches of the Democratic and Republican parties in Volume V of this work. The pages that follow will be devoted without comment to the records of the parties as shown by their successive national conventions and platforms and by the election results.

1860

Democratic Party¹

1. *Regular Convention at Charleston*

The national convention assembled in Charleston, South Carolina, April 23, 1860; temporary chairman, Francis B. Flournoy, of Arkansas; permanent chairman, Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts. Complete

¹For the transactions of the Democratic conventions numbered in our text 1, 3, and 4, we are indebted to *Proceedings of the Conventions at Charleston and Baltimore; Published by order of the National Democratic Convention*

delegations were present from all the States, and double delegations from Illinois and New York. Seats were awarded to the delegates from Illinois and New York who favored the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas for President and therefore were in agreement with the general views of the northern Democracy concerning slavery. The convention voted that no ballot for President or Vice-President should be taken until after adoption of the platform.

In the committee on resolutions the members from California and Oregon supported the position of the southern wing of the party; and consequently, as the committee was organized by States, the majority report on platform represented the southern attitude on the slavery question. A minority report was brought in by the northern opposition, and a motion was made to substitute it for the majority report. The convention, voting by numbers, of course had a considerable northern majority. After prolonged debate, during which efforts for harmony were made without success, the minority report (as amended) was adopted, April 30—the vote of the convention being 165 yeas to 138 nays.

After the adoption of the minority report on platform, about fifty of the southern members withdrew

(*Maryland Institute, Baltimore*), and under the supervision of the *National Democratic [Breckinridge] Executive Committee*. Washington, 1860.

Another official publication—restricted, however, to the conventions numbered in our text 1 and 3—is *Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Conventions, Held in 1860, at Charleston and Baltimore. Prepared and published under the direction of John G. Parkhurst, Recording Secretary [Douglas auspices]*. Cleveland, Nevins' Print, Plain Dealer Job Office, 1860.

An excellent authority for all the five conventions is Greeley and Cleveland's *Political Text-Book* for 1860, pp. 29-48.

from the convention pursuant to formal protests filed by their State delegations.

Notwithstanding the diminished membership of the body it was decided not only to abide by the two-thirds rule for nominations, but to base the calculation of the two-thirds upon the total number of votes—303—in the original full convention. Fifty-seven ballots for President were taken without a choice being made; Douglas had a majority on every ballot. First ballot:—Douglas, 145½; R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, 42; James Guthrie, of Kentucky, 35½; Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, 12; Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, 7; Joseph Lane, of Oregon, 6; Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, 2½; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, 1½; Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, 1. Fifty-seventh ballot:—Douglas, 151½; Guthrie, 65½; Hunter, 16; Lane, 14; Dickinson, 4; Davis, 1.

On May 3 the convention adjourned to meet again in Baltimore June 18.

2. *Charleston Bolters, First Convention*

The bolters from the regular convention at Charleston held a separate convention forthwith in the same city, James A. Bayard, of Delaware, presiding. Their proceedings were marked by complete harmony.

Platform of the southern Democracy:

“Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati [in 1856] be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

“First. That the government of a Territory organized by an act of Congress is provisional and temporary; and, during its existence,

all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

"Second. That it is the duty of the Federal government, in all its departments, to protect when necessary the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

"Third. That when settlers in a Territory having an adequate population form a State Constitution the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by an admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union whether its Constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

"Fourth. That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

"Fifth. That the enactments of the State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

"Sixth. That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this government to protect the naturalized citizens in all their rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

"Whereas, One of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the constitutional authority of Congress, for the construction of a Pacific Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean at the earliest practicable moment."

No nominations were made by this convention,

which, after being in session four days, adjourned to meet in Richmond, Virginia, on June 11.

3. *Adjourned Convention of Regulars, at Baltimore*

Reassembling at Baltimore, in the Front Street Theater, on the 18th of June, 1860, the regular convention began its business by omitting from the roll-call the States unrepresented upon the adjournment at Charleston—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas. For five days the convention was occupied with passing on applications for seats, mainly from the excluded States—these applications involving several contests between opponents and supporters of Douglas. Most of the Douglas contestants were seated, and a bolt ensued that was even more formidable than that at the preceding regular convention. Caleb Cushing resigned as chairman. His place was taken by John Tod, of Ohio.

It was ultimately decided to nominate by the vote of two-thirds of the delegates remaining. Douglas was chosen for President on the second ballot, receiving $181\frac{1}{2}$ votes to $7\frac{1}{2}$ for John C. Breckinridge and $5\frac{1}{2}$ for James Guthrie. For Vice-President, Benjamin Fitzpatrick, of Alabama, was nominated on the first ballot. After the adjournment of the convention he wrote a letter declining the honor, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, was thereupon named for the position by the national committee.

The Charleston minority report on resolutions was retained, with one additional plank, No. 7 below.

Platform of the northern Democracy:

"1. *Resolved*, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic convention at Cincinnati in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject matter; and we recommend, as the only further resolutions, the following:

"Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial Legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories,—

"2. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law.

"3. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

"4. *Resolved*, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

"5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

"6. *Resolved*, That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

"7. *Resolved*, That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform that, during the existence of the Territorial government, the measure of restriction, whatever it may

be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial Legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the government."

The convention completed its work and adjourned on June 23.

4. *Convention of the Baltimore Bolters*

On June 23, 1860, the delegates who had withdrawn from the regular Baltimore convention came together in national convention in the Maryland Institute, Baltimore. Their number was increased by admission of some of the delegates who had been in attendance upon the adjourned (Richmond) convention of the original Charleston bolters (see 5 below). Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, was chosen to preside. Twenty States were represented, though not in all cases by full delegations.

The platform of the Charleston bolters (see 2 above) was adopted.

John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, were nominated for President and Vice-President, each receiving the entire vote of the convention, 105½.

5. *Charleston Bolters, Adjourned Convention at Richmond*

This convention met on the 11th of June, 1860. Delegations were present from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas, and there were also delegates from Congres-

sional districts in Tennessee and Virginia. John Erwin, of Alabama, presided.

After organizing, the convention postponed action to await the result at Baltimore. It then endorsed the Breckinridge and Lane ticket.

Republican Party

Convention held in Chicago, May 16-18, 1860. Temporary chairman, David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania; permanent chairman, George Ashmun, of Massachusetts. Delegates were present from all the free States and from Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, and Virginia, the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and the District of Columbia. It was decided to nominate by a majority of the whole number of votes in the convention. The platform was adopted on May 17, and the candidates were nominated the next day.

On the first ballot for President the vote was as follows: William H. Seward, of New York, 173½; Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, 102; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, 50½; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, 49; Edward Bates, of Missouri, 48; William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, 14; John McLean, of Ohio, 12; Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, 10; Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, 3; John M. Reed, of Pennsylvania, 1; Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, 1; John C. Fremont, of California, 1. On the third ballot Lincoln received 231½, needing only 2½ for the nomination; whereupon there was a change in his favor of four Chase votes in Ohio, and

then other changes which gave him a total of 364. He was then nominated unanimously.

Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated for Vice-President on the second ballot, his principal competitor being Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky.

Platform:

"Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and to our country, unite in the following declarations:

"1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

"2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, 'That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,'—is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

"3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may. And we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a

popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

"4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

"5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

"6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans, while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

"7. That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

"8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that 'no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law,' it becomes our duty, by legislation whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

"9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

"10. That in the recent vetoes by their Federal Governors of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

"11. That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the House of Representatives.

"12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

"13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free-homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress

of the complete and satisfactory Homestead measure which has already passed the House.

"14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our Naturalization laws or any State legislation by which the rights of citizens hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

"15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

"16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

"17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the coöperation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmation and support."

Constitutional Union Party

This new party was an extemporized organization basing itself upon opposition to sectionalism and all disunionizing tendencies. It chiefly represented the conservative Whigs and Know-Nothings, and was strong at the south.

Convention held in Baltimore, May 9, 1860; Washington Hunt, of New York, chairman. Twenty States were represented.

On the second ballot for President John Bell, of Ten-



ZACHARY TAYLOR

Zachary Taylor, 12th president; born in Orange County, Va., November 24, 1784; soldier; served in war of 1812, in Black Hawk war of 1832 and in the Mexican war, 1845-47; elected president, 1848; died in office at Washington, D. C., July 9, 1850.

nessee, was nominated, receiving 138 votes. Other candidates voted for were Samuel Houston, of Texas; Edward Everett, of Massachusetts; John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky; John McLean, of Ohio; William A. Graham, of North Carolina; William C. Rives, of Virginia; William L. Sharkey, of Mississippi; William L. Goggin, of Virginia; and John M. Botts, of Virginia.

Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, received the nomination for Vice-President unanimously.

Platform:

"Whereas, Experience has demonstrated that platforms adopted by the partisan conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

"Resolved, That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principles other than the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws; and that, as representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the country, in national convention assembled, we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and national safety against all enemies, at home and abroad; believing that thereby peace may once more be restored to the country, the rights of the people and of the States reestablished, and the government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity, and equality which, under the example and Constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

The Election

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin, Republicans:—California, 4; Connecticut, 6; Illinois, 11; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 4; Maine, 8; Massachusetts, 13; Michigan, 6; Minnesota, 4; New Hampshire, 5; New Jersey, 4; New York, 35; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 27; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 5; Wisconsin, 5. Total, 180. Elected.

John C. Breckenridge and Joseph Lane, Southern Democratic party:—Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 4; Delaware, 3; Florida, 3; Georgia, 10; Louisiana, 6; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 7; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 8; Texas, 4. Total, 72.

Stephen A. Douglas and Herschel V. Johnson, Northern Democratic party:—Missouri, 9; New Jersey, 3. Total, 12.

John Bell and Edward Everett, Constitutional Union party:—Kentucky, 12; Tennessee, 12; Virginia, 15. Total, 39.

Popular vote:

Lincoln, 1,866,352; Douglas, 1,375,157; Breckinridge, 847,514; Bell, 587,830. These votes were divided as follows between the free and slave States:

Free States:—Lincoln, 1,839,922; Douglas, 1,211,633; Breckinridge, 276,828¹; Bell, 71,907.

Slave States (excepting South Carolina, where the Electors were chosen by the Legislature):—Lincoln, 26,430; Douglas, 163,525; Breckinridge, 570,686; Bell, 515,923.

¹Of Breckinridge's northern votes, 178,871 were cast in Pennsylvania—Douglas, the northern Democratic candidate, having in that State only 16,765. This remarkable result was due to the strong preference of the Buchanan administration for the Breckinridge ticket. Pennsylvania was Buchanan's home State, and in deference to him the Breckinridge Electors received the support of the Democratic organization.

1864

Republican Party

Owing to the exigencies of the Civil War the Republican organization adopted the name of "Union Party," and its convention of 1864 received the official name of "National Union Convention." Held in Baltimore, June 7-8, 1864; temporary chairman, Robert J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky; permanent chairman, William Dennison, of Ohio. Delegates were present from all the northern and border States and from Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, the District of Columbia, and the Territories of Colorado, Dakota, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Washington.

Abraham Lincoln was renominated for President, receiving 484 votes to 22 for Ulysses S. Grant. The votes for Grant were complimentary on behalf of the State of Missouri, and were changed to Lincoln before the announcement of the result.

For Vice-President the roll-call showed 200 for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee; 150 for Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine; 108 for Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York; and 61 for seven others. Before another ballot could be taken numerous changes were made to Johnson, resulting in his nomination by 494 out of a total of 521.

Platform:

"1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

"2. *Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels or to offer them any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor, to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

"3. *Resolved*, That as slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a deathblow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

"4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy who have periled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor

of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and **honorable wounds in the service of the country**; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

"5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and endorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the Proclamation of Emancipation and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

"6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially endorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions and which should characterize the administration of the government.

"7. *Resolved*, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war; and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

"8. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to the nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations,—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

"9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

"10. *Resolved*, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

"11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the western continent; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States."

Radical Republicans

Previously to the assembling of the regular Republican or National Union convention, there had been a development in the Republican party of opposition to the renomination of Lincoln. The malcontents took the name of Radical Republicans and held a national convention in Cleveland on May 21; chairman, John Cochrane, of New York.

Nominations:—For President, John C. Fremont; for Vice-President, John Cochrane.

On September 21 both candidates withdrew in favor of the regular Republican nominees, Lincoln and Johnson.

Platform:

"1. That the Federal Union shall be preserved.

"2. That the Constitution and laws of the United States must be observed and obeyed.

"3. That the rebellion must be suppressed by force of arms and without compromise.

"4. That the rights of free speech, free press, and habeas corpus be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed.

"5. That the rebellion has destroyed slavery; and the Federal Constitution should be so amended as to prohibit its reestablishment and to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.

"6. That integrity and economy are demanded at all times in the administration of the government, and that in time of war the want of them is criminal.

"7. That the right of asylum, except for crime and subject to law, is a recognized principle of American liberty; and that any violation of it cannot be overlooked and must not go unrebuked.

"8. That the national policy known as the Monroe doctrine has become a recognized principle; and that the establishment of any anti-republican government on this continent by any foreign power cannot be tolerated.

"9. That the gratitude and support of the nation are due to the faithful soldiers and the earnest leaders of the Union army and navy for their heroic achievements and deathless valor in defense of our imperiled country and civil liberty.

"10. That the one-term policy for the Presidency adopted by the people is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained by constitutional amendment.

"11. That the Constitution should be so amended that the President and Vice-President shall be elected by a direct vote of the people.

"12. That the question of the reconstruction of the rebellious States belongs to the people, through their representatives in Congress, and not to the Executive.

"13. That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers is a measure of justice."

Democratic Party

Convention held in Chicago, August 29-31, 1864; temporary chairman, William Bigler, of Pennsylvania; permanent chairman, Horatio Seymour, of New York. The delegates admitted were restricted to the non-seceding States, all of which were represented except Nevada and West Virginia.

George B. McClellan, of New Jersey, was nominated for President on the first ballot, which, after changes in his favor, stood: McClellan, 202½; Thomas H. Seymour, of Connecticut, 23½.

The Vice-Presidential nomination also was made on a single ballot. The roll-call resulted in 65½ for James Guthrie, of Kentucky; 55½ for George H. Pendleton, of Ohio; and complimentary votes for various others. As soon as the totals were announced the names of all but Pendleton were withdrawn, and he was then nominated unanimously.

Platform:

“Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both northern and southern.

“Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired—justice,

humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

"Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware was a shameful violation of the Constitution; and a repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

"Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired; and they hereby declare that they consider that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution—the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual test oaths; and the interference with the denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense—is calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

"Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who now are and long have been prisoners of war in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

"Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiers of our army and sailors of our navy who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of their country, and in the event of its attaining power they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the republic have so nobly earned."

The Election

States not voting:—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, Republicans:—California, 5; Connecticut, 6; Illinois, 16; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 8; Kansas, 3; Maine, 7; Maryland, 7; Massachusetts, 12; Michigan, 8; Minnesota, 4; Missouri, 11; Nevada, 2¹; New Hampshire, 5; New York, 33; Ohio, 21; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 26; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 5; West Virginia, 5; Wisconsin, 8. Total, 212. Elected.

George B. McClellan and George H. Pendleton, Democrats:—Delaware, 3; Kentucky, 11; New Jersey, 7. Total, 21.

Popular vote:

Lincoln, 2,216,067; McClellan, 1,808,725.

¹Nevada chose three Electors, one of whom died before the meeting of the Electoral College.

1868

Republican Party

The convention of this year was officially called the National Union Republican convention. Held in Chicago, May 20-21, 1868; temporary chairman, Carl Schurz, of Missouri; permanent chairman, Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut.

By unanimous vote (650) Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois, was nominated for President.

Five ballots were taken for Vice-President. On the first four ballots Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, was in the lead. The fifth ballot resulted in the nomination of Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, the vote being: Colfax, 541; Reuben E. Fenton, of New York, 69; Wade, 38.

Platform:

"The National Union Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Chicago on the 21st day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

"1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in a majority of the States lately in rebellion, of Constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and regard it as the duty of the government to sustain those Constitutions and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy or military rule.

"2. The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the south was demanded by every consideration of public safety,

of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

"3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

"4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as national faith will permit.

"5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

"6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

"7. The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

"8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; has refused to execute the laws; has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; has employed his Executive powers to render insecure the property, peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; has abused the pardoning power; has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; has perverted the public patronage into an engine of whole-

sale corruption; and has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the votes of thirty-five Senators.

"9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States as a relic of the feudal times not authorized by the law of nations and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native-born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.

"10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise and imperiled their lives in the service of the country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten. The widows and orphans of the gallant dead are wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

"11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power of this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

"12. This convention declares its sympathy with all oppressed people struggling for their rights.

"13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forgiveness with which the men who have served in the rebellion, but now frankly and honestly coöperate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

"14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil."

Democratic Party

Convention held in New York, July 4-9, 1868; temporary chairman, Henry L. Palmer, of Wisconsin; permanent chairman, Horatio Seymour, of New York. There was some discussion about the two-thirds rule, which was retained.

Twenty-two ballots were taken for President. The leading candidate at the beginning was George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, who received 105 on the first ballot and made gains until, on the eighth, he had $156\frac{1}{2}$; his vote then declined, falling to $56\frac{1}{2}$ on the eighteenth, and on the nineteenth his name was withdrawn. Pendleton's chief competitor on the first ballot was President Andrew Johnson, with 65 votes; but the support given Johnson was mostly complimentary and soon became negligible. Two other candidates, Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, developed considerable strength as the balloting progressed. But no one who had been voted for from the start received at any time a majority. On the fourth ballot 9 votes were cast for Horatio Seymour, the chairman of the convention. He emphatically protested against the introduction of his name and was not again voted for until the twenty-second ballot was being taken, when Ohio led a stampede to him and he was nominated unanimously.

Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, was nominated for Vice-President by unanimous vote.

Platform:

"The Democratic party, in national convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the government and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen; and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled for all time to come by the war, or the voluntary action of the southern States in Constitutional conventions assembled, and never to be renewed or reagitated, does, with the return of peace, demand:—

"1. Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union under the Constitution, and of civil government to the American people.

"2. Amnesty for all past political offenses, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens.

"3. Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable: all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment; and where the obligations of the government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide, that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

"4. Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including government bonds and other public securities.

"5. One currency for the government and the people, the laborer and the office-holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.

"6. Economy in the administration of the government; the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the Freedman's Bureau and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue, so

that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened, the credit of the government increased, and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the State militia into national forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports such as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon, and best promote and encourage, the great industrial interests of the country.

"7. Reform of abuses in administration; the expulsion of corrupt men from office; the abrogation of useless offices; the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of, the executive and judicial departments of the government; the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.

"8. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad; the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights; and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crimes committed beyond their jurisdiction.

"In demanding these measures and reforms we arraign the Radical party for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career. After the most solemn unanimous pledge of both houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the habeas corpus, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and the press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials



MILLARD FILLMORE

Millard Fillmore, 13th president; born at Locke, Cayuga county, N. Y., January 7, 1800; lawyer; member of state legislature from Erie county, 1829-31; of congress, 1833-35 and 1837-43; defeated for governor of New York, 1844; state comptroller, 1847; elected vice president with Zachary Taylor, 1848; became president upon death of President Taylor and served from July 9, 1850 to March 5, 1853; defeated for reelection in 1852, and as National American candidate in 1856; died in Buffalo, N. Y., March 8, 1874.

and secret star-chamber inquisitions, for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded, in time of peace, the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law; it has converted the American Capitol into a bastille; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort; it has abolished the right of appeal, on important constitutional questions, to the supreme judicial tribunal and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution; while the learned Chief-Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history, and by its frauds and monopolies it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the President of his constitutional power of appointment, even of his own cabinet. Under its repeated assaults the pillars of the government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next, and inaugurate its President, we will meet as a subject and conquered people amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

“And we do declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British crown, the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several States, and have been granted, regulated, and controlled exclusively by the political power of each State respectively, and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution, and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of government and can only end in a single, centralized, and consolidated government, in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a Federal Union of coequal States.

"And that we regard the Reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress, as such an usurpation and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void.

"That our soldiers and sailors who carried the flag of our country to victory against a most gallant and determined foe must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

"That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption or homestead laws, or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the government. When grants of the public lands may be deemed necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

"That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the constitutional rights of the States and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people; and in behalf of the Democratic party we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

"Upon this platform the Democratic party appeals to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the Constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such coöperating with us as friends and brethren.

"Resolved, That this convention sympathize cordially with the workingmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and promote the interests of the laboring classes of the country.

"Resolved, That the thanks of the convention are tendered to Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase for the justice, dignity, and impartiality with which he presided over the Court of Impeachment in the trial of President Andrew Johnson."

The Election

Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia were still unreconstructed and did not vote.

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

Ulysses S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax, Republicans:—Alabama, 8; Arkansas, 5; California, 5; Connecticut, 6; Florida, 3; Illinois, 16; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 8; Kansas, 3; Maine, 7; Massachusetts, 12; Michigan, 8; Minnesota, 4; Missouri, 11; Nebraska, 3; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 5; North Carolina, 9; Ohio, 21; Pennsylvania, 26; Rhode Island, 4; South Carolina, 6; Tennessee, 10; Vermont, 5; West Virginia, 5; Wisconsin, 8. Total, 214. Elected.

Horatio Seymour and Francis P. Blair, Jr., Democrats:—Delaware, 3; Georgia, 9; Kentucky, 11; Louisiana, 7; Maryland, 7; New Jersey, 7; New York, 33; Oregon, 3. Total, 80.

Popular vote:

Grant, 3,015,068; Seymour, 2,709,633.

1872

Republican Party

Convention held in Philadelphia, June 5-6, 1872; temporary chairman, Morton McMichael, of Pennsylvania; permanent chairman, Thomas Settle, of North Carolina.

By unanimous vote President Grant was renominated.

For Vice-President Henry Wilson received the nomination on the first ballot, having $399\frac{1}{2}$ votes to $308\frac{1}{2}$ for Schuyler Colfax and 44 for four others.

Platform:

"The Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Philadelphia on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country.

"1. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with a firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual set-

tlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions in the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's Presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not entrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

"2. The recent amendments to the national Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are laws, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

"3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union, by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"4. The national government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere and sympathizing with all people who strive for greater liberty.

"5. Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

"6. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

"7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax on tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

"8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the government to all our soldiers and sailors who are honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

"9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—'Once a subject always a subject'—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments; and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

"10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

"11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor—the creator of capital—the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

"12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

"13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

"14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

"15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

"16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal governments. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or national government.

"17. It is the duty of the general government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and shipbuilding.

"18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

"19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator, and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to

associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them."

Liberal Republicans¹

The Liberal Republican movement was organized in opposition to the Grant administration and to the continuance of certain policies of the regular Republican organization. A national mass-convention met in Cincinnati on May 1-3, 1872, and was organized on the basis of representation for the States proportioned to their Electoral votes. Temporary chairman, Stanley Matthews, of Ohio; permanent chairman, Carl Schurz, of Missouri.

Six ballots were taken for President. First ballot:—Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, 205; Horace Greeley, of New York, 147; Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, 110; B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, 95; David Davis, of Illinois, 92½; Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, 62; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, 2½. Greeley was nominated on the sixth ballot, after changes, by 482 votes out of the total 714, his leading competitor, Adams, receiving 187.

B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, was nominated for Vice-President on the second ballot.

Platform:

"We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:

¹Our authority for the transactions of the national convention of this party is *Proceedings of the Liberal Republican Convention*. New York, Baker & Goodwin, Printers; 1872.

"1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

"2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the Union of these States, emancipation, and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution.

"3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

"4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for the State self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

"5. The civil service of the government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; that the offices of the government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for reelection.

"6. We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the government economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal

thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts, and to the decision of the Congress thereon, wholly free from Executive interference or dictation.

"7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

"8. A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

"9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame or the full reward of their patriotism.

"10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

"11. We hold that it is the duty of the government in its intercourse with foreign nations to cultivate the friendships of peace by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right or to submit to what is wrong.

"12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles, and the support of the candidates nominated by this convention, we invite and cordially welcome the coöperation of all patriotic citizens without regard to previous affiliations."

Democratic Party

Convention held in Baltimore, July 9, 1872; temporary chairman, Thomas J. Randolph, of Virginia; permanent chairman, James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin.

The candidates and platform of the Liberal Republicans were endorsed (see above). For the Presidential nomination Greeley received 686 votes to 15 for James A. Bayard, of Delaware; 21 for Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania; 2 for William S. Groesbeck, of Ohio; and 8 blank.

Other Parties

Straight-out Democrats.—Convention held at Louisville, September 3, 1872. For President, Charles O'Connor, of New York; for Vice-President, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts.

Labor Reform Party.—Convention held in Columbus, Ohio, February 21-22, 1872. For President, David Davis, of Illinois; for Vice-President, Joel Parker, of New Jersey.

Prohibition Party.—Convention held in Columbus, Ohio, February 22, 1872. For President, James Black, of Pennsylvania; for Vice-President, John Russell, of Michigan.

The Election

Horace Greeley, the Democratic and Liberal Republican candidate, died November 29, 1872. The Electors met December 4, and those who had been chosen on the Greeley and Brown ticket divided their votes for President and Vice-President according to their individual preferences.

Electoral vote for President:

Ulysses S. Grant, Republican:—Alabama, 10; California, 6; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Illinois, 21; Indiana, 15;

Iowa, 11; Kansas, 5; Maine, 7; Massachusetts, 13; Michigan, 11; Minnesota, 5; Mississippi, 8; Nebraska, 3; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 5; New Jersey, 9; New York, 35; North Carolina, 10; Ohio, 22; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 29; Rhode Island, 4; South Carolina, 7; Vermont, 5; Virginia, 11; West Virginia, 5; Wisconsin, 10. Total, 286. Elected.

Other States carried by Grant according to the returns, the Electoral votes of which, however, were excluded by Congress from the count:—Arkansas, 6; Louisiana, 8. Total, 14.

Opposition:—Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, received 8 in Kentucky, 8 in Maryland, 6 in Missouri, 12 in Tennessee, and 8 in Texas—total, 42. B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, received 6 in Georgia, 4 in Kentucky, and 8 in Missouri—total, 18. Charles J. Jenkins, of Georgia, received 2 in Georgia. David Davis, of Illinois, received 1 in Missouri. Horace Greeley received 3 in Georgia; excluded by Congress from the count because of his decease. Total opposition, 66.

Electoral vote for Vice-President:

Henry Wilson, Republican:—Same as Grant, 286. Elected.

Vice-Presidential Electoral votes excluded by Congress from the count:—Arkansas, 6; Louisiana, 8. Total, 14.

Opposition:—B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, received 5 in Georgia, 8 in Kentucky, 8 in Maryland, 6 in Missouri, 12 in Tennessee, and 8 in Texas—total, 47. George W. Julian, of Indiana, received 5 in Missouri. Alfred H. Colquitt, of Georgia, received 5 in Georgia. John M. Palmer, of Illinois, received 3 in Missouri. Thomas E. Bramlette, of Kentucky, received 3 in Kentucky. William S. Groesbeck, of Ohio, received 1 in Missouri. William B. Machen, of Kentucky, received 1 in Kentucky. Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, received 1 in Georgia. Total opposition, 66.

Popular vote:

Grant, 3,597,070; Greeley, 2,834,079; O'Connor, 30,297; Black, 5,627.

1876

Republican Party

Convention held in Cincinnati, June 14-16, 1876; temporary chairman, Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York; permanent chairman, Edward McPherson, of Pennsylvania. During the balloting there was an acrimonious debate on the question of enforcing the unit rule in State delegations. By 395 to 353 it was decided that every delegate could vote according to his personal choice.

First ballot for President:—James G. Blaine, of Maine, 285; Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, 124; Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky, 113; Roscoe Conkling, of New York, 99; Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, 61; John F. Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, 58; Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, 11; William A. Wheeler, of New York, 3. On the sixth ballot Blaine's vote increased to 308 and Hayes was second with 113. Hayes was nominated on the seventh ballot, having 384 to 351 for Blaine and 21 for Bristow.

Only one ballot was necessary for Vice-President, the nominee being William A. Wheeler, of New York.

Platform:

"When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people by the people for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into his-

tory, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories, and with high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party, in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

"1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and State governments, under their respective Constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and protected abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

"2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle: 'That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.' Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, and, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

"3. The permanent pacification of the southern section of the Union and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, are duties to which the Republican party is sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief-Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

"4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant the national government assumed to remove any doubt of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors and solemnly pledged its faith 'to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin.' Commercial prosperity, public morals, and the national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

"5. Under the Constitution the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office, the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule for appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service and the right of citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to their country.

"6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs. We will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be speedy, thorough, and unsparing.

"7. The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

"8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be so adjusted as to

promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

"9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

"10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments that the same protection shall be afforded to adopted American citizens that is given to native-born, and all necessary laws be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

"11. It is the immediate duty of Congress fully to investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interests of the country.

"12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women, by the many important amendments effected by Republican Legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

"13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government. And in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate in the Territories that relic of barbarism, polygamy; and we demand such legislation as will secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories.

"14. The pledges which the nation has given to our soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled. The grateful people will always hold those who periled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

"15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the Electoral vote of a united south secured through the efforts of those who were recently



FRANKLIN PIERCE

Franklin Pierce, 14th president; born at Hillsboro, N. H., November 23, 1804; lawyer; member of state legislature, 1829-33; of congress, March 4, 1833 to March 3, 1837; United States senator, March 4, 1837 to February 28, 1842, when he resigned; served in Mexican war; member of New Hampshire state constitutional convention, 1850; president of the United States from March 4, 1853 to March 3, 1857; died in Concord, N. H., October 8, 1869.

arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

"16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the national Capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower house of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

"17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

"18. We present as our candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States two distinguished statesmen, of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to entrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler."

Democratic Party

Convention held in St. Louis, June 27-29, 1876; temporary chairman, Henry Watterson, of Kentucky; permanent chairman, John A. McClernand, of Illinois.

Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, was nominated for President on the second ballot, which stood: Tilden,

534; Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, 60; Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, 59; William Allen, of Ohio, 54; Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, 11; Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, 2.

Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, was unanimously nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot.

Platform:

"We, the delegates of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do hereby declare the administration of the Federal government to be in great need of immediate reform; do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this convention, and of the Democratic party in each State, a zealous effort and co-operation to this end; and do hereby appeal to our fellow-citizens of every former political connection to undertake with us this first and most pressing patriotic duty.

"For the Democracy of the whole country we do here reaffirm our faith in the permanence of the Federal Union, our devotion to the Constitution of the United States with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of republican self-government.

"In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority, the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; in the two-fold separation of church and state, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy, and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope,—we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history; but while upholding the bond of our Union and great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practice also that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

"Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of

the whole people of the Union, eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of States but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon ten States the rapacity of carpetbag tyrannies, has honeycombed the offices of the Federal government itself with incapacity, waste, and fraud, infected States and municipalities with the contagion of misrule, and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of 'hard times.'

"Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor.

"We denounce the failure, for all these eleven years of peace, to make good the promise of the legal-tender notes, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

"We denounce the improvidence which, in eleven years of peace, has taken from the people in Federal taxes thirteen times the whole amount of the legal-tender notes, and squandered four times their sum in useless expense, without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

"We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income, and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

"We demand a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment.

"We believe such a system, well devised, and above all entrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vast machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent. of all business transactions are performed—a system open,

public, and inspiring general confidence—would from the day of its adoption bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its sources the prosperity of the people.

“Reform is necessary in the sum and modes of Federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distress and labor lightly burdened.

“We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly 4,000 articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretense. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank upon the high seas. It has cut down the values of American manufactures at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom house taxation shall be only for revenue.

“Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense—Federal, State, and municipal. Our Federal taxation has swollen from sixty millions gold in 1860 to four hundred and fifty millions currency in 1870; our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions gold in 1860 to seven hundred and thirty millions currency in 1870; or in one decade from less than five dollars per head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace, the people have paid to their tax-gatherers more than thrice the sum of the national debt, and more than twice that sum for the Federal government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the government.

“Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in power, which has squandered 200,000,000 acres upon 'railroads

alone, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

"Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race, recrossing the Atlantic, from the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now by law denied citizenship through naturalization as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes and Mongolian men held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese empire, or such legislation within constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

"Reform is necessary, and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the election, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it:—

"1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation and is resolved to maintain without partiality or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without contributions from the treasury to any.

"2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred people once estranged, but now reunited in one indivisible republic and a common destiny.

"Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the government is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be an approved reward of party zeal instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should

neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men nor the instrument of their ambition. Here again professions falsified in the performance attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

"Reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of the public service. President, Vice-President, Judges, Senators, Representatives, cabinet officers,—these and all others in authority are the people's servants. These offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust.

"When the annals of this republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as law-makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched and enriching friends by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an Ambassador to England censured in a dishonorable speculation; the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform.

"All these abuses, wrongs, and crimes, the product of sixteen years' ascendancy of the Republican party, create a necessity for reform confessed by Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the 80,000 office-holders, its leaders and guides.

"Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of party, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

"Resolved, That this convention, representing the Democratic party of the States, do cordially endorse the action of the present House of Representatives in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the Federal government, in cutting down enormous salaries, extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices and places not required by the public necessities; and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the House that no committee of conference and no misinterpretation of the rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

"Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow-citizens."

The platform declaration on the subject of resumption of specie payments which, while objecting to the stipulation made in the act of 1875 that resumption should occur on January 1, 1879, favored preparation for resumption, was strongly opposed by the "soft money" delegates under the leadership of General Thomas Ewing, of Ohio. A minority report opposing the whole program of resumption was submitted to the convention; defeated by 515 to 219.

Other Parties

Independent Party, popularly known as Greenback Party.—Convention held at Indianapolis, May 17-18, 1876. For President, Peter Cooper, of New York; for Vice-President, Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio. The platform demanded repeal of the Resumption act and the issuance of full legal-tender government notes (greenbacks), convertible on demand into "United States obligations" bearing interest at 3.65 per cent.

Prohibition Party.—Convention held in Cleveland, May 17, 1876. For President, Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky; for Vice-President, Gideon T. Stewart, of Ohio.

American Party, known as the American Alliance.—For President, James B. Walker, of Illinois; for Vice-President, Donald Kirkpatrick, of New York. The platform advocated the observance of religious ideas in government, the Bible in the schools, prohibition, woman suffrage, refusal of charters to secret societies, etc.

The Election

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President, as determined by the Electoral commission:

Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler, Republicans:—California, 6; Colorado, 3; Florida, 4; Illinois, 21; Iowa, 11; Kansas, 5; Louisiana, 8; Maine, 7; Massachusetts, 13; Michigan, 11; Minnesota, 5; Nebraska, 3; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 5; Ohio, 22; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 29; Rhode Island, 4; South Carolina, 7; Vermont, 5; Wisconsin, 10. Total, 185. Elected.

Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks, Democrats:—Alabama, 10; Arkansas, 6; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Georgia, 11; Indiana, 15; Kentucky, 12; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 15; New Jersey, 9; New York, 35; North Carolina, 10; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 8; Virginia, 11; West Virginia, 5. Total, 184.

Popular vote:

Tilden, 4,284,757; Hayes, 4,033,950; Cooper, 81,740; Smith, 9,522; Walker, 2,636.

1880

Republican Party

Convention held in Chicago, June 2-8, 1880; temporary and permanent chairman, George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts. At this convention occurred the celebrated struggle again to nominate General Grant for the Presidency, the Grant forces being led by Roscoe Conkling, of New York, against the strenuous opposition of the supporters of James G. Blaine, of Maine; John Sherman, of Ohio; George F. Edmunds, of Vermont; Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois; and William Windom, of Minnesota. Four days were consumed in deciding contests for seats, adopting the rules and platform, and placing the candidates in nomination. Efforts to enable the State delegations to enforce a unit rule were defeated, and in the balloting every delegate was permitted to vote according to his preference.

First ballot for President:—Grant, 304; Blaine, 284; Sherman, 93; Edmunds, 34; Washburne, 30; Windom, 10. Thirty-six ballots proved necessary for a choice. On every ballot until the last Grant led, his vote never falling below 302 or going above 313. James A. Garfield, the head of the Ohio delegation and in charge of Sherman's interests, received one vote on the second ballot; and on many of the subsequent ballots until the

thirty-fourth was called he was voted for, though at no time having more than two supporters. The thirty-fourth ballot showed 17 votes for him (which were recorded against his protest), and the thirty-fifth 50; he was nominated on the thirty-sixth by the following vote: Garfield, 399; Grant, 306; Blaine, 42; Washburne, 5; Sherman, 3.

The Vice-Presidential nomination went to Chester A. Arthur, of New York, who on the first ballot had 468 against 283 for eight others.

Platform:

"The Republican party, in national convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration:

"It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority; it reconstructed the Union of the States with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone; it transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens; it relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist.

"It has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent. to the par of gold; it has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country; it has lifted the credit of the nation from the point of where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

"Under its administration railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 82,000 miles in 1879.

"Our foreign trade increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,115,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$265,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

"Without resorting to loans, it has since the war closed defrayed the ordinary expenses of government besides the accruing interest of the public debt, and has disbursed annually more than \$30,000,000 for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid \$880,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$150,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000.

"All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

"Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

"1. We affirm that the work of the Republican party for the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend it to the favor of the nation; that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the Union should be perpetuated, and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to other generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt, so much reduced, should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already increasing should be steadily encouraged.

"2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to the States; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national and not by the State tribunal.

"3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the national government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional power. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several

States, and the destiny of the nation must be guided not by the genius of any one State but by the aggregated genius of all.

"4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of secret sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We therefore recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the Legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

"5. We affirm the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that, slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our seacoast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of the fifteen years since their final victory—to do them honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

"6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as a matter of grave concernment, under the exercise of both these powers would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

"7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to him for a Presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief-Executive; and that history will accord to his administration the



honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws.

"8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the national government and control of place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of the suffrage, and have devised fraudulent ballots and invented fraudulent certifications of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and actions of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills upon whose passage the very movement of the government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of the rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality.

"The equal, steady, and complete enforcement of laws and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all the privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation.

"The dangers of a 'Solid South' can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the south. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform. A nation cannot safely relegate this duty to the States. The 'Solid South' must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all honest opinions must there find free expression. To

this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud.

"And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony that may be possible; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of these United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the national government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope.

"9. The Republican party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its last national convention of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To that end it demands the coöperation of the legislative with the executive departments of the government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service."

Democratic Party

Convention held in Cincinnati, June 22-24, 1880; temporary chairman, George Hoadly, of Ohio; permanent chairman, John W. Stevenson, of Kentucky.

The leading candidates for the Presidential nomination were General Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, and Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware. On the first ballot General Hancock received 171 votes and Bayard 153½. Hancock was nominated on the second ballot, which, after changes had been made in his favor, showed 705 for him and 33 for three others. Other candidates voted for on the two ballots were Henry B. Payne and Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio; Stephen J.

Field, of California; William R. Morrison, of Illinois; Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana; Samuel J. Tilden and Horatio Seymour, of New York; and Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania.

For Vice-President William H. English, of Indiana, was nominated by acclamation.

Platform:

"The Democrats of the United States, in convention assembled, declare:—

"1. We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last national convention of the party.

"2. Opposition to centralization and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever be the form of government, a real despotism. No sumptuary laws; separation of church and state, for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

"3. Home rule; honest money—consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and national; and a tariff for revenue only.

"4. The subordination of the military to the civil power, and a genuine and thorough reform of the civil service.

"5. The right to a free ballot is a right preservative of all rights, and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

"6. The existing administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and Deputy Marshals to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insult the people and imperil their institutions.

"7. We execrate the course of this administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime, and demand

a reform by statute which shall make it forever impossible for the defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

"8. The great fraud of 1876-77, by which, upon a false count of the Electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and, for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government; the Democratic party, to preserve the country from the horrors of a civil war, submitted for the time in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880. This issue precedes and dwarfs every other: it imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the conscience of a nation of freemen.

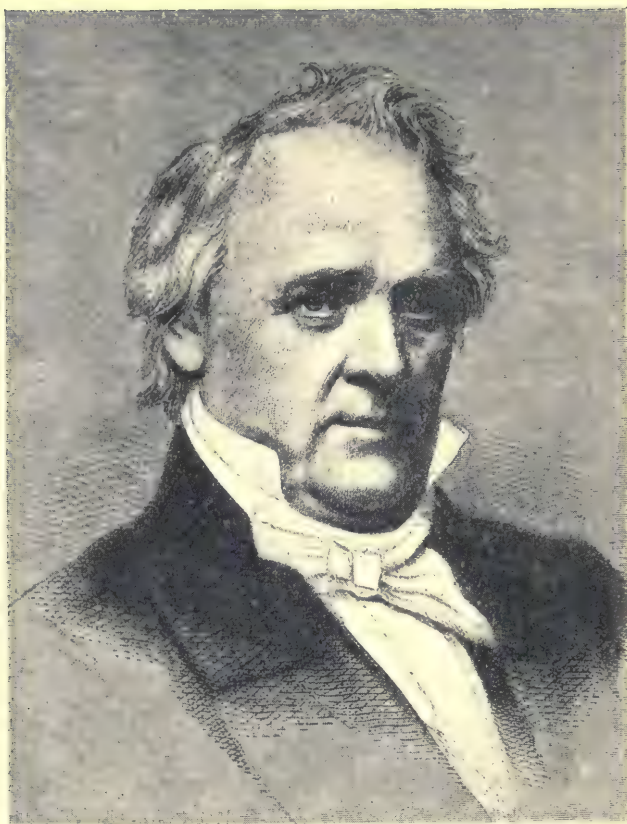
"9. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with deep sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity, unshaken by the assaults of the common enemy; and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standard of public morality and adorning and purifying the public service, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

"10. Free ships and a living chance for American commerce on the seas and on the land. No discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations, or monopolies.

"11. Amendment of the Burlingame treaty. No more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and even that carefully guarded.

"12. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

"13. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the labor-



JAMES BUCHANAN

James Buchanan, 15th president; born at Cove Gap, Pa., April 23, 1791; lawyer; member of state legislature, 1814-15; of congress, March 4, 1821 to March 3, 1831; minister to Russia, 1832-34; United States senator, 1834-45; secretary of state under Polk, 1845-49; minister to Great Britain, 1853-56; president of United States, 1857-61; died at Lancaster, Pa., June 1, 1868.

ing man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorants and the commune.

"14. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress which has reduced the public expenditure \$40,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the national honor abroad; and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the government as shall insure us genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service."

Other Parties

Greenback Party.—Convention held in Chicago, June 9-11, 1880. For President, James B. Weaver, of Iowa; for Vice-President, B. J. Chambers, of Texas.

Prohibition Party.—Convention held in Cleveland, June 17, 1880. For President, Neal Dow, of Maine; for Vice-President, A. M. Thompson, of Ohio.

The Election

Electoral votes for President and Vice-President:

James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur, Republicans:—California, 1; Colorado, 3; Connecticut, 6; Illinois, 21; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 11; Kansas, 5; Maine, 7; Massachusetts, 13; Michigan, 11; Minnesota, 5; Nebraska, 3; New Hampshire, 5; New York, 35; Ohio, 22; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 29; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 5; Wisconsin, 10. Total, 214. Elected.

Winfield S. Hancock and William H. English, Democrats:—Alabama, 10; Arkansas, 6; California, 5; Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Georgia, 11; Kentucky, 12; Louisiana, 8; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 15; Nevada, 3; New Jersey, 9; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 7; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 8; Virginia, 11; West Virginia, 5. Total, 155.

Popular vote:

Garfield, 4,449,053; Hancock, 4,442,035; Weaver, 307,426; Dow, 12,576.

1884

Republican Party

Convention held in Chicago, June 3-6. The national committee designated Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, as temporary chairman, but the convention chose in his stead John R. Lynch (colored), of Mississippi. Permanent chairman, John B. Henderson, of Missouri. An animated discussion arose on the question of establishing for future national conventions a new basis of Congressional district representation, the following rule being proposed: "Each Congressional district shall be entitled to one delegate, and an additional delegate for every 10,000 votes, or majority fraction thereof, cast for the Republican ticket at the last preceding Presidential election." This was intended to reduce the representation from the south. Owing to the united opposition of the southern delegates to the resolution on the subject, it was withdrawn without a vote being taken.

The principal candidates for the Presidential nomination were James G. Blaine, President Arthur, George F. Edmunds, John A. Logan, John Sherman, and Joseph R. Hawley. Blaine was nominated on the fourth ballot, the vote being as follows: Blaine, 541;

Arthur, 207; Edmunds, 41; Hawley, 15; Logan, 7; Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, 2.

For Vice-President John A. Logan, of Illinois, was nominated on the first ballot by 773 votes to 7 for two others.

Platform:

"The Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens.

"The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government; and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

"We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration—a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

"In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

"It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people.

"The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people.

"We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not 'for revenue only,' but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

"Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest.

"The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

"The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

"We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

"We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world; and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

"The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government; and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce.

"The principle of public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people; and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

"We favor the establishment of a national Bureau of Labor; the enforcement of the Eight-hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues, wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; and we favor the settlement of international differences by international arbitration.

"The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions; and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

"Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all Executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

"The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens. And we will

endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

"The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitations contained in the Arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge and not with the date of application.

"The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—a policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the western hemisphere.

"We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce; and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

"*Resolved*, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our Territories, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon church; and that the laws so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military if need be.

"The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a nation, and not a mere confederacy of States. The

national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties; but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained. Each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate.

"The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in southern States by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of fruits of such fraud and violence.

"We extend to the Republicans of the south, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights."

Democratic Party

Convention held in Chicago, July 8-11, 1884; temporary chairman, Richard B. Hubbard, of Texas; permanent chairman, William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin. By 463 to 332 the convention voted to permit State delegations to enforce the unit rule, the opposition being led by the anti-Cleveland delegates from New York. During the presentation of the names of Presidential candidates, after several bitter speeches had been made by Mr. Cleveland's New York foes General Edward S. Bragg, of Wisconsin, delivered his famous address advocating the nomination of Cleveland because of the enemies he had made.

On the first ballot for President, Grover Cleveland, of New York, received 392 votes, his nearest competi-

tor being Thomas F. Bayard with 170, and 258 being cast for eight others. Cleveland was nominated on the second ballot, the result of which, after changes, was: Cleveland, 683; Bayard, 81½; Thomas A. Hendricks, 45½; Allen G. Thurman, 4; Samuel J. Randall, 4; Joseph E. McDonald, of Indiana, 2.

For Vice-President Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, was nominated unanimously on the first ballot.

Platform:

"The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in national convention assembled, recognizes that, as the nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain and will ever remain as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States, and the supremacy of the Federal government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government. But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles, that the government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise, abuses grow, and the government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country; hence a change is demanded.

"The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence. In practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been

brought to light in every department of the government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt. Therefore, a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers, who had bargained for unlawful profits or high office. The Republican party, during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy: it has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed: it imposed and has continued those burdens. It professes a policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers: it has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. It professes a preference for free institutions: it organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor: it has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans: it left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions. It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff: it created and has continued them. Its own Tariff commission confessed the need of more than twenty per cent. reduction: its Congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent. It professes the protection of American manufactures: it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials.

It professes to protect all American industries: it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor: it has depleted the returns of American agriculture, an industry followed by half of our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law, attempting to fix the status of colored citizens: the acts of its Congress were overset by the decisions of its courts. It 'accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform': its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its councils or a veto upon bad nominations. That change is necessary is proven by an existing surplus of more than \$100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes, which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

"The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners. Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But, in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government, taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice: all taxation shall be limited

to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction and taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal government economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from the custom house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes and shall not exceed the needs of the government economically administered.

"The system of direct taxation known as the 'Internal Revenue' is a war tax, and, so long as the law continues, the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in line of duty in the wars of the republic and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having already been provided; and any surplus should be paid into the treasury.

"We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

"We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

"Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

"We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to

the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.

"The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

"We oppose sumptuary laws, which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty.

"We favor honest civil service reform and a compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of church and state, and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

"While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

"We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

"We believe that the public land ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

"We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the general government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

"In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that 'the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith,' we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

"The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad; and to the end that this protection may be assured United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own government and by all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

"This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration. That policy has ever been in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimentally to the interests of the country or hurtfully to our citizens, to let them alone; that as a result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory, by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

"The Federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water.

"Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking, and on the point of outstripping, that of Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy. Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the Stars and Stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry: under a quarter-century of Republican rule and policy—despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climate, and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men, and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty, and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in the old world monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace—that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand in behalf of the American Democracy an American policy. Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand, in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

"With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics—acquiescence in the will of the majority—that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership

of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him, in his withdrawal from public cares, not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freedom—the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

“With this statement of the hopes, principles, and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.”

The portion of the platform relating to the tariff was opposed by General Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, who offered a substitute resolution which was intended to favor the protective policy; defeated by 721½ to 96½.

Other Parties

Greenback Party.—Convention held in Indianapolis, May 28-29, 1884. For President, Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts; for Vice-President, Alanson M. West, of Mississippi. The same candidates had previously been nominated by an Anti-Monopoly convention held in Chicago May 14.

Prohibition Party.—Convention held in Pittsburgh, July 23, 1884. For President, John P. St. John, of

Kansas; for Vice-President, William Daniel, of Maryland.

An "American Prohibition national convention" was held in Chicago June 19, 1884, which nominated Samuel C. Pomeroy, of Kansas, for President, and John A. Conant, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. This convention represented the American Alliance (see 1876).

Equal Rights Convention.—Held in San Francisco, September 20, 1884. For President, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, of the District of Columbia; for Vice-President, Mrs. Marietta L. Stow, of California.

The Election

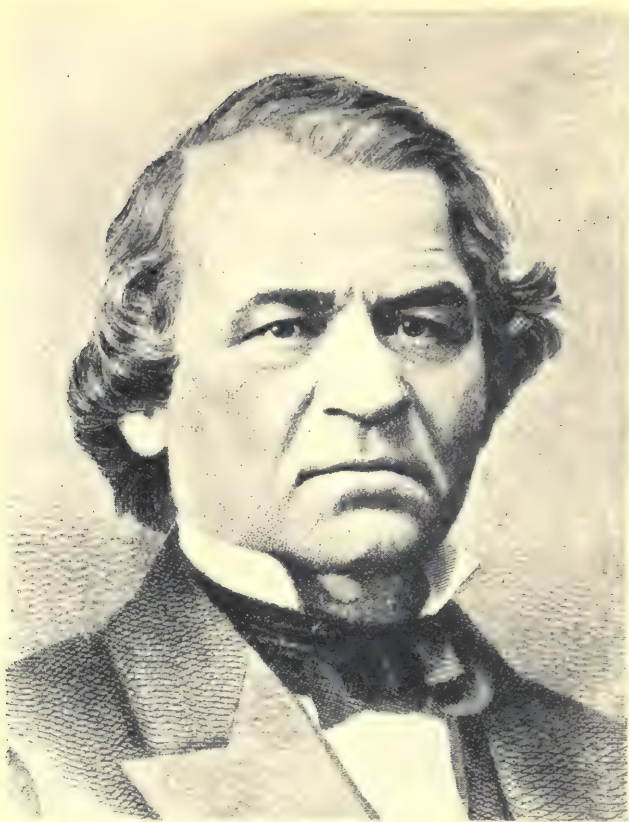
Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

Grover Cleveland and Thomas A. Hendricks, Democrats:—Alabama, 10; Arkansas, 7; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Georgia, 12; Indiana, 15; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 8; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 16; New Jersey, 9; New York, 36; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 13; Virginia, 12; West Virginia, 6. Total, 219. Elected.

James G. Blaine and John A. Logan, Republicans:—California, 8; Colorado, 3; Illinois, 22; Iowa, 13; Kansas, 9; Maine, 6; Massachusetts, 14; Michigan, 13; Minnesota, 7; Nebraska, 5; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 4; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 30; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 4; Wisconsin, 11. Total, 182.

Popular vote:

Cleveland, 4,912,696; Blaine, 4,849,680; St. John, 151,830; Butler, 133,824; scattering, 10,360.



ANDREW JOHNSON

Andrew Johnson, 17th president; born at Raleigh, N. C., December 29, 1808; tailor; alderman, Greenville, Tenn. for three years; mayor, 1830-33; member state legislature, 1835-39; state senator, 1841; member of congress, 1843-1853; governor of Tennessee, 1853-1857; United States senator, 1857-1862; elected vice president, 1864; became president on death of Abraham Lincoln, April 15, 1865; had trouble with congress and resolution for his impeachment was passed by house of representatives, February 24, 1868; tried and acquitted; defeated as candidate for United States senator, 1870; reelected to U. S. senate and served from March 4, 1875 until his death at Carters Station, Tenn., July 31, 1875.

1888

Democratic Party

Convention held in St. Louis, June 5-7; temporary chairman, Stephen M. White, of California; permanent chairman, Patrick A. Collins, of Massachusetts.

President Cleveland was renominated by acclamation.

Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, received the Vice-Presidential nomination on the first ballot by a vote of 684 out of a total of 822.

Platform:

"The Democratic party of the United States, in convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives at the convention of 1884, and endorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last earnest message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also endorses the efforts of our Democratic Representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

"Chief among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of an indissoluble Union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written Constitution strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the law and

are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality, and establishing justice.

"The Democratic party welcomes an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power, which four years ago was committed to its trust in the election of Grover Cleveland as President of the United States; and it challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people. During a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from over-taxation, the anomalous condition of our currency, and a public debt unmaturing, it has, by the adoption of a wise and conservative course, not only averted disaster but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

"It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people, nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

"While carefully guarding the interests of the taxpayers and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the republic than was ever paid before during an equal period.

"By intelligent management and judicious and economical expenditure of the public money it has set on foot the reconstruction of the American navy upon a system which forbids the recurrence of scandal and insures successful results.

"It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our government and people, at home and abroad. The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

"Honest reform in the civil service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency, not only by rule and

precept but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

"In every branch and department of the government under Democratic control, the rights and the welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or section, has been steadfastly maintained. Upon its record thus exhibited, and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of the benefits of good government, the national Democracy invoke a renewal of popular trust by the reelection of a Chief-Magistrate who has been faithful, able, and prudent. They invoke an addition to that trust by the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

"The Republican party, controlling the Senate and resisting in both houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law and the fairness and justice which are their right. Thus the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretenses, enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets, capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed. The Democratic party will continue, with all the power confided to it, the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, endorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people.

"Of all the industrious freemen of our land, an immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from excessive tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation. All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessities of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people. Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted and fostered, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob

the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition.

"Every democratic rule of governmental action is violated when, through unnecessary taxation, a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the national treasury. The money now lying idle in the Federal treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than one hundred and twenty-five millions, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than sixty millions annually. Debauched by this immense temptation, the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust, by extravagant appropriations and expenditures, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation. The Democratic remedy is to enforce frugality in public expenses and to abolish needless taxation.

"Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not and need not be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operations. In the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party would promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of necessities of life in the home of every workingman, and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment. Upon this great issue of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

"Resolved, That this convention hereby endorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives.

“Resolved, That a just and liberal policy should be pursued in reference to the Territories; that the right of self-government is inherent in the people and guaranteed under the Constitution; that the Territories of Washington, Dakota, Montana, and New Mexico are, by virtue of population and development, entitled to admission into the Union as States, and we unqualifiedly condemn the course of the Republican party in refusing statehood and self-government to their people.

“Resolved, That we express our cordial sympathy with the struggling people of all nations in their efforts to secure for themselves the inestimable blessings of self-government and civil and religious liberty, and we especially declare our sympathy with the efforts of those noble patriots who, led by Gladstone and Parnell, have conducted their grand and peaceful contest for home rule in Ireland.”

Republican Party

Convention held in Chicago, June 19-25, 1888; temporary chairman, John M. Thurston, of Nebraska; permanent chairman, Morris M. Estee, of California.

Nine candidates for the Presidential nomination were formally presented to the convention, as follows: Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut; Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana; Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana; William B. Allison, of Iowa; Russell A. Alger, of Michigan; Chauncey M. Depew, of New York; John Sherman, of Ohio; Edwin H. Fitler, of Pennsylvania; and Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wisconsin. On the first ballot Sherman showed by far the greatest strength, and he retained the lead for six ballots; on the seventh he was passed by Harrison, who was nominated on the eighth by the following vote: Harrison, 544; Sherman, 118; Alger, 100; Gresham, 59; James G. Blaine, 5; William McKinley, 4.

The first ballot for Vice-President resulted in the choice of Levi P. Morton, of New York, who had 592 votes to 234 for four others.

Platform:

"The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in national convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people, Abraham Lincoln; and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders, who have been more recently called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished. We also recall, with our greetings and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

"In the spirit of those great leaders, and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulations to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

"We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the national Constitution and to the indissoluble Union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to

secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

"We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor, and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily endorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican Representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

"We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry throughout the United States.

"The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor and releases from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government, we favor the entire repeal of internal revenue taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behests of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

"We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the exist-

ing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

"We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the State **Legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions**, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

"We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862 against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great western domain into such magnificent development. **The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur, should be continued.** We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats in Congress about 60,000,000 acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

"The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become States in the Union; **therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence, and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted, as a right inherent in them, to form for themselves Constitutions and State governments and be admitted into the Union.** Pend-

ing the preparation for statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the bona fide residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve.

"South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union, under the Constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily endorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana Territories to form Constitutions and establish State governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

"The political power of the Mormon church in the Territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions too dangerous to be longer suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute-books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

"The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

"We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

"In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation; therefore the State or nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learn-

ing sufficient to afford every child growing in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education.

"The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people, and the purity of their homes. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

"We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials, as well as those directly employed in our shipyards. We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance, and other approved modern means of defense for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for the necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise, and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the government's money, without interest, to 'pet banks.'

"The conduct of foreign affairs by the present administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen, with idle complacency, the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to

charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with the Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and farther coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

"We arraign the present Democratic administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry and an indispensable resource of defense against a foreign enemy. 'The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the republic, and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time, that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad, in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.'

"The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to-wit: 'The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance

with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.'

"The gratitude of the nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and **extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform should become the inmate of an almshouse, or dependent upon private charity.** In the presence of an overflowing treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

"In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the coöperation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free trade policy of the present administration."

Other Parties

Prohibition Party.—Convention held in Indianapolis, May 20, 1888. For President, Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey; for Vice-President, John A. Brooks, of Missouri.

Union Labor Party.—Convention held in Cincinnati, May 15, 1888. For President, Alson J. Streeter, of Illinois; for Vice-President, Samuel Evans, of Texas.

United Labor Party.—Convention held in Cincinnati, May 15, 1888. For President, Robert H. Cowdrey, of Illinois; for Vice-President, W. H. T. Wakefield, of Kansas.

Equal Rights Convention.—Held in Des Moines,

May 15, 1888. For President, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, of the District of Columbia; for Vice-President, Alfred H. Love, of Pennsylvania.

"American" Convention.—Held in Washington, August 14, 1888. For President, James Langdon Curtis, of New York; for Vice-President, James B. Greer, of Tennessee. The platform demanded rigid restriction of immigration, repeal of the naturalization laws, disqualification of aliens to own real estate, taxation of all church property, and non-appropriation of public money for church institutions.

The Election

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

Benjamin Harrison and Levi P. Morton, Republicans:—California, 8; Colorado, 3; Illinois, 22; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 13; Kansas, 9; Maine, 6; Massachusetts, 14; Michigan, 13; Minnesota, 7; Nebraska, 5; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 4; New York, 36; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 30; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 4; Wisconsin, 11. Total, 233. Elected.

Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman, Democrats:—Alabama, 10; Arkansas, 7; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Georgia, 12; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 8; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 16; New Jersey, 9; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 13; Virginia, 12; West Virginia, 6. Total, 168.

Popular vote:

Cleveland, 5,540,050; Harrison, 5,444,337; Fisk, 250,125; Streeter, 146,897; Cowdrey, 2,808; Curtis, 1,591.

1892

Republican Party

Convention held in Minneapolis, June 7-10; temporary chairman, J. Sloat Fassett, of New York; permanent chairman, William McKinley, of Ohio.

Benjamin Harrison was renominated for the Presidency on the first ballot, which stood: Harrison, 535 1-6; James G. Blaine, 182 1-6; William McKinley, 182; Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, 4; Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, 1.

The Vice-Presidential nominee was Whitelaw Reid, of New York, nominated by acclamation on the first ballot.

Platform:

"The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi River, the everlasting bond of an indestructible republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops, and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:—

"We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress. We believe that all articles

which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

"We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff act of 1890.

"We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our Tariff laws by piecemeal, as manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead, and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

"We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

"The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetalism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the government, shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

"We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such

laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, this sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State.

"We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain southern States of the Union.

"We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships, and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign powers, entangling alliances with none, and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

"We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the republic in its broadest sense.

"We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper, and contract immigration.

"We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limb of employes of transportation companies engaged in carrying on interstate commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employes engaged in State commerce, in mining, and manufacturing.

"The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color, or nationality. It sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

"The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instru-



ULYSSES S. GRANT

Ulysses S. Grant, 18th president; born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822; graduate of U. S. Military Academy, West Point; served in Mexican war under Taylor; later clerk of general store, Galena, Ill.; entered volunteer service, civil war, at Springfield, Ill., June 17, 1861; served with great distinction and concededly won the decisive victories of the war of the rebellion; elected president of the United States, 1868; reëlected, 1872; lost his fortune through dishonesty of Ferdinand Ward, his partner in banking business; wrote his memoirs, earning enough to pay his debts and leave his family in comfort; died July 23, 1885 at McGregor, N. Y.

mentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty we are opposed to any union of church and state.

"We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily endorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such future legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

"We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages, and rural communities the advantages of the free-delivery service now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888 pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Post Office department and the highest class of postal service.

"We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

"The construction of the Nicaragua canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of national defense and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States government.

"We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

"We favor the cession, subject to the Homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such Congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation, and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

"The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national under-

taking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharge of the expenses and obligations incident thereto and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

"We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

"Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

"We commend the able, patriotic, and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the nation, at home and abroad, have been faithfully maintained; and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future."

Democratic Party

Convention held in Chicago, June 21-23, 1892; temporary chairman, William C. Owens, of Kentucky; permanent chairman, William L. Wilson, of West Virginia.

Great preparations had been made by the supporters of David B. Hill, of New York, to secure the Presidential nomination for him. Grover Cleveland, however, was successful on the first ballot, which stood: Cleveland, 617 1-3; Hill, 114; Horace Boies, of Iowa, 103; Arthur P. Gorman, of Maryland, 36½; Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, 16 2-3; John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, 14; William R. Morrison, of Illinois, 3; James E. Campbell, of Ohio, 2; William E. Russell, of Massachusetts, 1; Robert E. Pattison, of Pennsylvania, 1; William C. Whitney, of New York, 1.

Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot.

Platform:

"Section 1.—The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership, from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal government through the accession to power of the party that advocates them; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of free popular government, based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our government under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the republic.

"Section 2.—We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections to which the Republican party has committed itself is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the republic. It strikes at the north as well as the south, and injures the colored citizen even more than the white. It means a horde of Deputy Marshals at every polling-place armed with Federal power, returning boards appointed and controlled by Federal authority, the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States, the subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power, and the reviving of race antagonisms now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all—a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as 'the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate.' Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office-holders, and the party first entrusted with its machinery could be dislodged

from power only by an appeal to the reserved right of the people to resist oppression, which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls; but in contempt of that verdict the Republican party has defiantly declared, in its latest authoritative utterance, that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the Force bill and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States.

"Believing that the preservation of republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Constitution maintained in its integrity with the laws pursuant thereto which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity, and we pledge the Democratic party, if it be entrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the Force bill but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure, which in the short space of two years squandered an enormous surplus and emptied an overflowing treasury after piling new burdens of taxation upon the already overtaxed labor of the country.

"Section 3.—We denounce Republican protection as a fraud—a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the government when honestly and economically administered.

"We denounce the McKinley Tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we endorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption, and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in entrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We

deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade, as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley act.

"We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that, after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over two thousand, five hundred million dollars, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the west there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging \$165 per capita of the total population, and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in the other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

"Section 4.—Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith; but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world, that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessities and comforts of life among our own people.

"Section 5.—We recognize in the trusts and combinations which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor, a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition which is the life of honest trade, but believe their worst evils can be abated by law; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

"Section 6.—The Republican party, while professing a policy of

reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people, nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens; and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

"Section 7.—We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage; but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

"Section 8.—We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed.

"Section 9.—Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic national convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions and a startling illustration

of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which Federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

"Section 10.—The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations, and especially with our neighbors on the American continent whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defense, and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

"Section 11.—This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience's sake;—and in the spirit of the founders of our government we condemn the oppression practiced by the Russian government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our national government, in the interest of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means to use its prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar and to secure to the oppressed equal rights. We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

"Section 12.—We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping-ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration or the importation of foreign labor under contract to degrade American labor and lessen its wages; but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

"Section 13.—This convention hereby renews the expression of

appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the Union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents; but we demand that the work of the Pension office shall be done industriously, impartially, and honestly. We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful, and dishonest.

"Section 14.—The Federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tidewater. When any waterway of the republic is of sufficient importance to demand the aid of the government, such aid should be extended with a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

"Section 15.—For purposes of national defense and the promotion of commerce between the States, we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua canal, and its protection against foreign control, as of great importance to the United States.

"Section 16.—Recognizing the World's Columbian Exposition as a national undertaking of vast importance, in which the general government has invited the coöperation of all the powers of the world, and appreciating the acceptance by many of such powers of the invitation so extended and the broad and liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of the opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith.

"Section 17.—Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education being an essential of civil and religious liberty, as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental

rights and rights of conscience in the education of children, as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

"Section 18.—We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for admitting into the Union as States the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having the necessary population and resources to entitle them to statehood; and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

"Section 19.—We favor legislation by Congress and State Legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employes and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party, and particularly the Republican Senate, for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage-workers.

"Section 20.—We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor, and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under fifteen years of age.

"Section 21.—We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

"Section 22.—Upon this statement of principles and policies the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party, in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the maintenance unimpaired of institutions under which the republic has grown great and powerful."

As originally reported to the convention by the committee on resolutions, the platform contained only a

moderate declaration on the tariff question, modelled upon the expression in the Democratic platform of 1884 and making no reference to the constitutional subject in connection with the levying of duties. By a vote of 564 to 342 the convention rejected this original plank and substituted for it the first paragraph of Section 3 above.

People's Party

This organization was generally known as the Populist party. Convention held in Omaha, July 2-5; temporary chairman, C. H. Ellington, of Georgia; permanent chairman, H. L. Loucks, of South Dakota.

Nominations:—For President, James B. Weaver, of Iowa; for Vice-President, James G. Field, of Virginia.

Platform:

"Assembled upon the one hundred and sixtieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's party of America, in their first national convention, invoking upon their action the blessing of Almighty God, puts forth, in the name and on behalf of the people of this country, the following preamble and declaration of principles:

"The conditions which surround us best justify our coöperation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling-places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauper-

ized labor beats down their wages, a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are bodily stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.

“The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; a vast public debt payable in legal-tender currency has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people.

“Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprises, and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once, it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism.

“We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver, and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of Mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

"Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation, and filled with the spirit of the grand general chief who established our independence, we seek to restore the government of the republic to the hands of 'the plain people,' with whose class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the national Constitution, 'to form a more perfect union and establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.'

"We declare that this republic can only endure as a free government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the Civil War is over and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood.

"Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world. Our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must within a few weeks or months be exchanged for billions of dollars of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange. The results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that, if given power, we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation in accordance with the terms of our platform.

"We believe that the powers of government—in other words, of the people—should be expanded (as in the case of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice, and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.

"While our sympathies as a party of reform are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous, and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions, important as they are, as secondary to the great issues now pressing for solution, and upon which not only our individual prosperity but the very existence of free institutions depend; and we ask all men to

first help us to determine whether we are to have a republic to administer before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered, believing that the forces of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is righted and equal rights and equal privileges securely established for all the men and women of this country. We declare, therefore:—

"1. That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual: may its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the republic and the uplifting of mankind!

"2. Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. 'If any will not work, neither shall he eat.' The interests of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

"3. We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads; and should the government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the Constitution by which all persons engaged in the government service shall be placed under a civil service regulation of the most rigid character so as to prevent the increase of the power of the national administration by the use of such additional government employees.

"We demand a national currency safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations; a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent. per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or a better system; also, by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

"We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one.

"We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

"We demand a graduated income tax.

"We believe that the money of the country should be kept as

much as possible in the hands of the people; and hence we demand that all State and national issues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government economically and honestly administered.

"We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

"Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

"The telegraph and telephone, like the post office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

"The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

"*Resolved*, 1. That we demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elections, and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter, without Federal intervention, through the adoption by the States of the unperverted Australian secret ballot system.

"*Resolved*, 2. That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burdens of taxation now levied upon the domestic industries of this country.

"*Resolved*, 3. That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldiers and sailors.

"*Resolved*, 4. That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world and crowds out our wage-earners, and we denounce the present ineffective law against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable immigration.

"*Resolved*, 5. That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a

rigid enforcement of the existing Eight-hour law on government work and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.

"Resolved, 6. That we regard the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition; and we condemn the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy assisted by Federal officers.

"Resolved, 7. That we commend to the thoughtful consideration of the people and the reform press the legislative system known as the initiative and referendum.

"Resolved, 8. That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the offices of President and Vice-President to one term, and providing for the election of Senators of the United States by a direct vote of the people.

"Resolved, 9. That we oppose any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose."

Other Parties

Prohibition Party.—Convention held in Cincinnati, June 29, 1892. For President, John Bidwell, of California; for Vice-President, J. B. Cranfill, of Texas.

Socialist Labor Party.—Convention held in New York, August 28, 1892. For President, Simon Wing, of Massachusetts; for Vice-President, Charles H. Matchett, of New York.

The Election

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

Grover Cleveland and Adlai E. Stevenson, Democrats:—Alabama, 11; Arkansas, 8; California, 8; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Georgia, 13; Illinois, 24; Indiana, 15; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 8; Maryland, 8; Michigan, 5; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 17; New Jersey, 10; New York, 36; North Carolina, 11; North

Dakota, 1; Ohio, 1; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 15; Virginia, 12; West Virginia, 6; Wisconsin, 12. Total, 277. Elected.

Benjamin Harrison and Whitelaw Reid, Republicans:—California, 1; Iowa, 13; Maine, 6; Massachusetts, 15; Michigan, 9; Minnesota, 9; Montana, 3; Nebraska, 8; New Hampshire, 4; North Dakota, 1; Ohio, 22; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 32; Rhode Island, 4; South Dakota, 4; Vermont, 4; Washington, 4; Wyoming, 3. Total, 145.

James B. Weaver and James G. Field, Populists:—Colorado, 4; Idaho, 3; Kansas, 10; Nevada, 3; North Dakota, 1; Oregon, 1. Total, 22.

Popular vote:

Cleveland, 5,554,414; Harrison, 5,190,802; Weaver, 1,027,329; Bidwell, 271,028; Wing, 21,164.



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Rutherford B. Hayes, 19th president; born at Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822; lawyer; served in war of the rebellion; member of congress, 1865-67; governor of Ohio, 1867-76; nominated for president in 1876 and declared elected over Samuel J. Tilden by an electoral commission; died January 17, 1893, Fremont, Ohio.

1896

Democratic Party

Convention held in Chicago, July 7-11, 1896. The supporters of free silver were largely in the majority and enforced their will at every stage of the proceedings. For permanent chairman the national committee nominated David B. Hill, of New York, an opponent of free silver; but by a vote of 556 to 349 the convention rejected the nomination and chose John W. Daniel, of Virginia. Stephen M. White, of California, was permanent chairman.

On the first ballot for President Richard P. Bland, of Missouri, received 235 votes; William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, 137; Robert E. Pattison, of Pennsylvania, 97; Joseph C. S. Blackburn, of Kentucky, 82; Horace Boies, of Iowa, 67; John R. McLean, of Ohio, 54; Claude Matthews, of Indiana, 37; Benjamin R. Tillman, of South Carolina, 17; Sylvester Pennoyer, of Oregon, 8; Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, 8; Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, 6; William E. Russell, of Massachusetts, 2; James E. Campbell, of Ohio, 1; David B. Hill, of New York, 1; and 178 delegates were absent or refrained from voting. Bryan gained on each of the next three ballots, and was nominated on the fifth, re-

ceiving (after changes) 652 votes to 116 for five others, with 162 delegates not voting.

Five ballots were taken for Vice-President, Arthur Sewall, of Maine, being nominated on the fifth ballot by 568 votes against 111 for six others; 251 delegates did not vote.

Platform:

"We, the Democrats of the United States, in national convention assembled, do reaffirm our allegiance to those great essential principles of justice and liberty upon which our institutions are founded, and which the Democratic party has advocated from Jefferson's time to our own—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, and the faithful observance of constitutional limitations.

"During all these years the Democratic party has resisted the tendency of selfish interests to the centralization of governmental power, and steadfastly maintained the integrity of the dual scheme of government established by the founders of this republic of republics. Under its guidance and teachings the great principle of local self-government has found its best expression in the maintenance of the rights of the States and in its assertion of the necessity of confining the general government to the exercise of the powers granted by the Constitution of the United States.

"The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every citizen the rights of civil and religious liberty. The Democratic party has always been the exponent of political liberty and religious freedom, and it renews its obligations and reaffirms its devotion to these fundamental principles of the Constitution.

"Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Federal Constitution named silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the monetary unit and

admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver-dollar unit.

"We declare that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad; the prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people.

"We are unalterably opposed to monometallism, which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the War of the Revolution.

"We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

"We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

"We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace, and condemn the trafficking with banking syndicates which, in exchange for bonds and at an enormous profit to themselves, supply the Federal treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold monometallism.

"Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We therefore denounce the issuance

of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks as in derogation of the Constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for dues to the United States, shall be issued by the government of the United States and shall be redeemable in coin.

"We hold that tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the government honestly and economically administered. We denounce as disturbing to business the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law, which has twice been condemned by the people in national elections, and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade, and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets.

"Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax. But for this decision by the Supreme Court, there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that court for nearly one hundred years, that court having in that decision sustained constitutional objections to its enactment which had previously been overruled by the ablest Judges who have ever sat on that bench. We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the court as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expense of the government.

"We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a vicious mone-

tary system which depresses the price of their products below the cost of production and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufactories; and, as labor creates the wealth of the country, we demand the passage of such laws as may be necessary to protect it in all its rights.

"We are in favor of the arbitration of differences between employers engaged in interstate commerce and their employes, and recommend such legislation as is necessary to carry out this principle.

"The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems, and the formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce commission, and such restriction and guarantees in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression.

"We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation, and the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high while the labor that pays them is unemployed and the products of the people's toil are depressed in price till they no longer repay the cost of production. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government, and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

"We denounce arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal Judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges, and executioners; and we approve the bill passed at the last session of the United States Senate, and now pending in the House of Representatives, relative to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trials by jury in certain cases of contempt.

"No discrimination should be indulged in by the government of the United States in favor of any of its debtors. We approve of the refusal of the Fifty-third Congress to pass the Pacific Railroad Fund-

ing bill, and denounce the effort of the present Republican Congress to enact a similar measure.

"Recognizing the just claims of deserving Union soldiers, we heartily endorse the rule of the present Commissioner of Pensions that no names shall be arbitrarily dropped from the pension roll; and the fact of enlistment and service should be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

"We favor the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma into the Union as States; and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having the necessary population and resources to entitle them to statehood; and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule, and that all public lands of the United States should be appropriated to the establishment of free homes for American citizens.

"We recommend that the Territory of Alaska be granted a Delegate in Congress, and that the general Land and Timber laws of the United States be extended to said Territory.

"The Monroe doctrine, as originally declared and as interpreted by succeeding Presidents, is a permanent part of the foreign policy of the United States and must at all times be maintained.

"We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

We are opposed to life tenure in the public service, except as provided in the Constitution. We favor appointments based on merit, fixed terms of office, and such an administration of the Civil Service laws as will afford equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

"We declare it to be the unwritten law of this republic, established by custom and usage of one hundred years, and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our government, that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

"The Federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water. When any waterway of the republic is of sufficient importance to demand aid of the government, such aid should be extended upon a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

"Confiding in the justice of our cause and the necessity of its success at the polls, we submit the foregoing declaration of principles and purposes to the considerate judgment of the American people. We invite the support of all citizens who approve them and who desire to have them made effective through legislation for the relief of the people and the restoration of the country's prosperity."

This platform was the majority report of the committee on resolutions. A minority report, signed by sixteen members of the committee, was presented to the convention by David B. Hill; it embodied two resolutions, proposing first, a substitute for the financial plank, and second, an endorsement of the Cleveland administration. These resolutions were:

1. "We declare our belief that the experiment on the part of the United States alone of free silver coinage and a change of the existing standard of value independently of the action of other great nations, would not only imperil our finances but would retard or entirely prevent the establishment of international bimetallism, to which the efforts of the government should be steadily directed. It would place this country at once upon a silver basis, impair contracts, disturb business, diminish the purchasing power of the wages of labor, and inflict irreparable evil upon the nation's commerce and industry.

"Until international coöperation among leading nations for the coinage of silver can be secured, we favor the rigid maintenance of the existing gold standard as essential to the preservation of our national credit, the redemption of our public pledges, and the keeping inviolate of our country's honor. We insist that all our paper and

silver currency shall be kept absolutely at a parity with gold. The Democratic party is the party of hard money, and is opposed to legal-tender paper money as a part of our permanent financial system; and we therefore favor the gradual retirement and cancellation of all United States notes and treasury notes under such legislative provisions as will prevent undue contraction. We demand that the national credit shall be resolutely maintained at all times and under all circumstances."

2. "We commend the honesty, economy, courage, and fidelity of the present Democratic national administration."

The substitute for the financial plank was debated on the floor of the convention in speeches of great ability and warmth—one of which was Mr. Bryan's famous deliverance against the financial interests that terminated with the words: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." The substitute was rejected by 626 votes against 303; not voting, 1.

The vote on the proposed commendation of Cleveland's administration stood: No, 564; yes, 357; not voting, 9.

Republican Party

Convention held in St. Louis, June 16-18, 1896; temporary chairman, Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana; permanent chairman, John M. Thurston, of Nebraska.

William McKinley was nominated for President on the first ballot. The vote stood: McKinley, 661½; Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, 84½; Matthew S. Quay, of Pennsylvania, 61½; Levi P. Morton, of New York,

58; William B. Allison, of Iowa, 35½; J. Donald Cameron, of Pennsylvania, 1; not voting, 8.

The Vice-Presidential nominee was Garrett A. Hobart, of New Jersey, who received on the first ballot 533½ votes to 359½ for eight others.

Platform:

"The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in national convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience, and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles.

"For the first time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by \$262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule. In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise, and crippled American production while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the government shall be wrested from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable of conducting it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and that it shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequalled success and prosperity. And in this connection we heartily endorse the wisdom, the patriotism, and the success of the administration of President Harrison.

"We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industries; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producers; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and prices; it diffuses general thrift, and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial; equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

"We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question to be governed by the conditions of time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industries. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

"We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

"Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy, and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be reestablished. Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessities of life which we do not produce; reciprocal agreements of mutual interest which gain open

markets for us in return for our open markets for others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade, and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade, and finds an outlet for our surplus.

"We condemn the present administration for not keeping faith with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than \$100,000,000 annually.

"To all our products—to those of the mine and the fields as well as to those of the shop and the factory; to hemp; to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to the most finished woolens of the mill—we promise the most ample protection.

"We favor restoring the American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor, employed in American shipyards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

"The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

"We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the earth, which we pledge ourselves to promote; and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be maintained. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold; and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States, and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

"The veterans of the Union armies deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable they

should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfillment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the roll, as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

"Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous, and dignified, and all our interests in the western hemisphere should be carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaragua canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States; and by the purchase of the Danish islands we should secure a proper and much needed naval station in the West Indies.

"The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey, American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers and American property destroyed. There, as everywhere else, American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

"We reassert the Monroe doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American state for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not, on any pretext, be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all English-speaking parts of the continent by free consent of its inhabitants.

"From the hour of achieving their own independence, the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of

other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

"The government of Spain having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

"The peace and security of the republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We therefore favor the continued enlargement of the navy and a complete system of harbor and seacoast defenses.

"For the protection of the equality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the Immigration laws be thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

"The Civil Service law was placed on the statute-book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and heartily and honestly enforced, and extended wherever practicable.

"We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

"We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice well known as lynching, and the killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime without process of law.

"We favor the creation of a national Board of Arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employed engaged in interstate commerce.

"We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of the sat-

isfactory free-homestead measure which has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

"We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interest of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded them as far as practicable.

"We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

"We sympathize fully with all legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality. The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women, and believes that they should be accorded equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their coöperation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populistic mismanagement and misrule.

"Such are the principles and policy of the Republican party. By these principles we will abide, and these policies we will put into execution. We rely on the faithful and considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the United States."

The following substitute for the financial plank was offered by a minority of the committee on resolutions, headed by Henry M. Teller, of Colorado:

"The Republican party authorizes the use of both gold and silver as equal standard money, and pledges its power to secure the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of sixteen parts of silver to one of gold."

This was laid on the table by a vote of 818½ to 105½, and the financial plank as reported was adopted, 812½ to 110½. The pro-silver delegates, under the leadership of Senator Teller, thereupon withdrew from the convention.

Other Parties

People's Party.—Convention met in St. Louis, July 22, 1896. For President, William J. Bryan; for Vice-President, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia. The platform declared for free silver, a graduated income tax, government ownership of the railroads and telegraphs, direct legislation through the initiative and referendum, and other advanced measures.

National Silver Party.—Convention met in St. Louis, July 22, 1896. For President, William J. Bryan; for Vice-President, Arthur Sewall. The platform was confined to an exposition of the financial question from the pro-silver point of view.

National Democratic Party (Gold Democrats).—Convention met in Indianapolis, September 2, 1896. Temporary chairman, Roswell P. Flower, of New York; permanent chairman, Donelson Caffery, of Louisiana. For President, John M. Palmer, of Illinois; for Vice-President, Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky. The platform repudiated the acts of the regular convention of the Democratic party at Chicago. On the financial question it declared for gold "as a standard of monetary measure, and the maintenance of silver at a parity with gold by its limited coinage under suitable safeguards of law."

Prohibition Party.—Convention met in Pittsburgh, May 27, 1896. For President, Joshua Levering, of Maryland; for Vice-President, Hale Johnson, of Illinois.

National Party (Bolting Prohibitionists).—For President, Charles E. Bentley, of Nebraska; for Vice-President, James H. Southgate, of North Carolina. The platform demanded prohibition of the liquor traffic and various other radical measures, and favored free silver coinage.

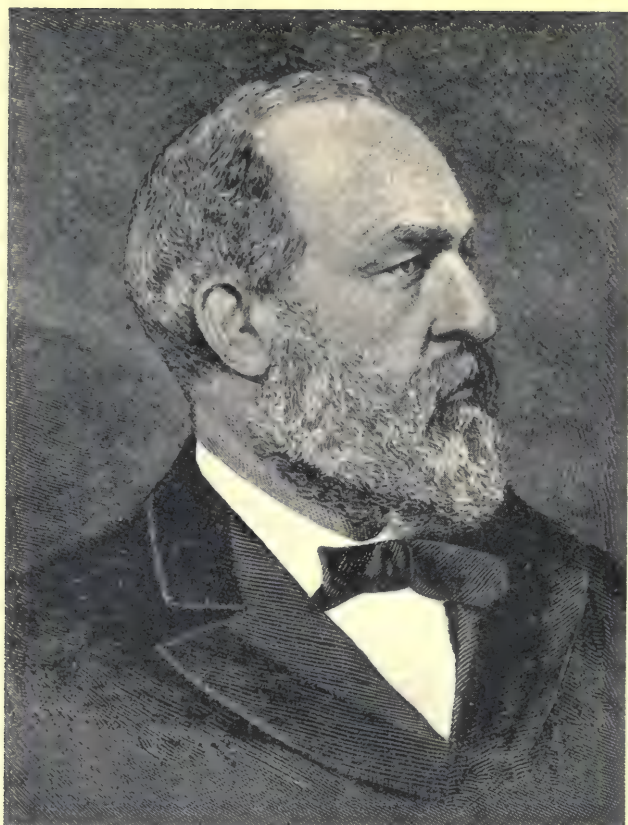
Socialist Labor Party.—Convention met in New York, July 6, 1896. For President, Charles H. Matchett, of New York; for Vice-President, Matthew Maguire, of New Jersey.

The Election

Electoral vote for President:

William McKinley, Republican:—California, 8; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Illinois, 24; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 13; Kentucky, 12; Maine, 6; Maryland, 8; Massachusetts, 15; Michigan, 14; Minnesota, 9; New Hampshire, 4; New Jersey, 10; New York, 36; North Dakota, 3; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 4; Pennsylvania, 32; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 4; West Virginia, 6; Wisconsin, 12. Total, 271. Elected.

William J. Bryan, Democrat:—Alabama, 11; Arkansas, 8; California, 1; Colorado, 4; Florida, 4; Georgia, 13; Idaho, 3; Kansas, 10; Kentucky, 1; Louisiana, 8; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 17; Montana, 3; Nebraska, 8; Nevada, 3; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 9; South Dakota, 4; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 15; Utah, 3; Virginia, 12; Washington, 4; Wyoming, 3. Total, 176.



JAMES A. GARFIELD

James A. Garfield, 20th president; born at Orange, Ohio, November 19, 1831; lawyer; college president at 26; served in war of the rebellion; elected to Ohio state senate, 1859; member of congress from March 4, 1863 to November 8, 1880; elected president and served from March 4, 1881 until July 2, 1881, when he was shot in the Pennsylvania railroad station at Washington by an assassin; died at Elberon, N. J. from effects of wound, September 19, 1881.

Electoral vote for Vice-President:

Garrett A. Hobart, Republican:—Same as McKinley, 271. Elected.

Arthur Sewall, Democrat:—Alabama, 11; Arkansas, 5; California, 1; Colorado, 4; Florida, 4; Georgia, 13; Idaho, 3; Kansas, 10; Kentucky, 1; Louisiana, 4; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 13; Montana, 2; Nebraska, 4; Nevada, 3; North Carolina, 6; South Carolina, 9; South Dakota, 2; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 15; Utah, 2; Virginia, 12; Washington, 2; Wyoming, 2. Total, 149.

Thomas E. Watson, People's:—Arkansas, 3; Louisiana, 4; Missouri, 4; Montana, 1; Nebraska, 4; North Carolina, 5; South Dakota, 2; Utah, 1; Washington, 2; Wyoming, 1. Total, 27.

Popular vote:

McKinley, 7,035,638; Bryan, 6,467,946¹; Palmer, 131,529; Levering, 141,676; Matchett, 36,454; Bentley, 13,968.

¹Combined vote on the Bryan and Sewall (Democratic) and Bryan and Watson (Populist) tickets.

1900

Republican Party

Convention held in Philadelphia, June 19-21, 1900. Temporary chairman, Edward O. Wolcott, of Colorado; permanent chairman, Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts.

President McKinley was renominated by the unanimous vote of the convention.

For the Vice-Presidency Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was unanimously nominated.

Platform:

"The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives met in national convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

"The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, entrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief-Magistrate and a Republican Congress has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls after a term of Democratic legislation and administration business was dead, industry paralyzed, and the national credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

"The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce

conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures: a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value. The people by great majorities issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. The commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed.

"Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any government obligation. Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any other nation. Capital is fully employed, and labor everywhere is profitably occupied.

"No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican government means to the country than this, that while during the whole period of one hundred and seven years from 1790 to 1897 there was an excess of exports over imports of only \$383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of \$1,483,537,094.

"And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action, its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given 'a new birth of freedom,' and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

"We endorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen

responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

"In asking the American people to endorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles, and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the government and in its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity, when Democratic success at the polls is announced, halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

"We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress, by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met, in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day.

"We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be

convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

"We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest coöperation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade; but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition, and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

"We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified, and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates—higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working-people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government, and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world.

"We favor the associated policy of reciprocity, so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets.

"In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance.

"Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying trade is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The national defense and naval effi-

ciency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade-carrying fleets of the world.

"The nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The Pension laws, founded in this just sentiment, should be liberal and should be liberally administered, and preference should be given, wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service, to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

"We commend the policy of the Republican party in the efficiency of the civil service. The administration has acted wisely in its efforts to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these Territories should be confined, as far as practicable, to their inhabitants.

"It was the plain purpose of the Fifteenth amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of State governments, whether by statutory or constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment, are revolutionary and should be condemned.

"Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the Legislatures of the several States.

"We favor the extension of the rural free-delivery service wherever its extension may be justified.

"In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective States and Territories.

"We favor home rule for, and the early admission to statehood of, the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma.

"The Dingley act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of \$40,000,000. So ample are the government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations, that its newly funded 2 per cent. bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting, and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about, a reduction of the war taxes.

"We favor the construction, ownership, control, and protection of an Isthmian canal by the government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the administration is warmly to be commended for its successful efforts to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

"In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that Congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries, in the charge of a Secretary with a seat in the cabinet. The United States consular system should be reorganized under the supervision of this new department, upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the nation's increasing trade.

"The American government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

"We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the Volunteer Aid Association and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful coöperation in all works of education and industry.

"President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa, his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our individual control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the southern Pacific, every American interest has been safeguarded.

"We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

"We commend the part taken by our government in the Peace conference at The Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine. The provisions of The Hague convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republic. While the American government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President, and imposed upon us by The Hague treaty, of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

"In accepting, by the treaty of Paris, the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish War, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the West Indies and in the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world; and, with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations, our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection, and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples. The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.

"To Cuba, independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed.

"The Republican party, upon its history and upon this declaration of its principles and policies, confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people."

Democratic Party

Convention held in Kansas City, July 4-6, 1900. Temporary chairman, Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado; permanent chairman, James D. Richardson, of Tennessee.

William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, were nominated for President and Vice-President. Both nominations were unanimous.

Platform:

"We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, assembled in national convention on the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, do reaffirm our faith in that immortal proclamation of the inalienable rights of man, and our allegiance to the Constitution framed in harmony therewith by the fathers of the republic. We hold with the United States Supreme Court that the Declaration of Independence is the spirit of our government, of which the Constitution is the form and letter. We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny; and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic. We hold that the Constitution follows the flag, and denounce the doctrine that an Executive or Congress deriving their existence and their powers from the Constitution can exercise lawful authority beyond it, or in violation of it. We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

"Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the Porto Rico law, enacted by a Republican Congress against the protest and opposition of the Democratic minority, as a bold and open violation of the nation's organic law and a flagrant breach of the national good faith. It imposes upon the people of Porto Rico a government with-

out their consent and taxation without representation. It dishonors the American people by repudiating a solemn pledge made in their behalf by the commanding general of our army, which the Porto Ricans welcomed to a peaceful and unresisted occupation of their land. It dooms to poverty and distress a people whose helplessness appeals with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity. In this, the first act of its imperialistic program, the Republican party seeks to commit the United States to a colonial policy inconsistent with republican institutions and condemned by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions.

"We demand the prompt and honest fulfillment of our pledge to the Cuban people and the world that the United States has no disposition nor intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the island of Cuba, except for its pacification. The war ended nearly two years ago, profound peace reigns over all the island, and still the administration keeps the government of the island from its people, while Republican carpetbag officials plunder its revenues and exploit the colonial theory to the disgrace of the American people.

"We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present administration. It has embroiled the republic in an unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of its noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government. The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government; and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert the republic into an empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Philippines first, a stable form of government; second, independence; and third, protection from outside interference such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America.

"The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay; but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when

brought to the test of facts. The war of 'criminal aggression' against the Filipinos, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come. Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty the price is always too high.

"We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. We favor trade expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands to be governed outside the Constitution and whose people can never become citizens.

"We are in favor of extending the republic's influence among the nations, but we believe that influence should be extended not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

"The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in no wise diminished, and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish War involves the very existence of the republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.

"The declaration in the Republican platform, adopted at the Philadelphia convention held in June, 1900, that the Republican party 'steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine,' is manifestly insincere and deceptive. This profession is contradicted by the avowed policy of that party, in opposition to the spirit of the Monroe doctrine, to acquire and hold sovereignty over large areas of territory and large numbers of people in the eastern hemisphere. We insist on the strict maintenance of the Monroe doctrine in all its integrity, both in letter and in spirit, as necessary to prevent the extension of European authority on this continent and as essential to our supremacy in American affairs. At the same time we declare that no American people shall ever be held by force in unwilling subjection to European authority.

"We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intima-

tion and oppression at home. It means the strong arm, which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army, an unnecessary burden of taxation, and a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well-disciplined State militia are amply sufficient in time of peace. This republic has no place for a vast military establishment, a sure forerunner of compulsory military service and conscription. When the nation is in danger the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender. The National Guard of the United States should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety. For the first time in our history, and coeval with the Philippine conquest, has there been a wholesale departure from our time-honored and approved system of volunteer organization. We denounce it as un-American, un-Democratic, and un-Republican, and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people.

"Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of raw material and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. They lessen the employment of labor and arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof, and deprive individual energy and small capital of their opportunity of betterment. They are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiate greed is checked all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the republic destroyed. The dishonest paltering with the trust evil by the Republican party in its State and national platforms is conclusive proof of the truth of the charge that trusts are the legitimate product of Republican policies, that they are fostered by Republican laws, and that they are protected by the Republican administration in return for campaign subscriptions and political support.

"We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, State, and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced and more stringent

ones must be enacted providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce and requiring all corporations to show, before doing business outside of the State of their origin, that they have no water in their stock and that they have not attempted, and are not attempting, to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise; and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails, and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts. Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list, to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection. The failure of the present Republican administration, with an absolute control over all of the branches of the national government, to enact any legislation designed to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinations, or to enforce the Anti-Trust laws already on the statute-books, proves the insincerity of the high-sounding phrases of the Republican platform.

"Corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people or to control the sovereignty which creates them should be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

"We condemn the Dingley Tariff law as a trust-breeding measure, skillfully devised to give to the few favors which they do not deserve, and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

"We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the Interstate Commerce law as will enable the commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

"We reaffirm and endorse the principles of the national Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, and which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level; and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and

gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

"We denounce the Currency bill enacted at the last session of Congress as a step forward in the Republican policy which aims to discredit the sovereign right of the national government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon National banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit. A permanent National bank currency, secured by government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and, if the bank currency is to increase with population and business, the debt must also increase. The Republican currency scheme is, therefore, a scheme for fastening upon the taxpayer a perpetual and growing debt for the benefit of the banks. We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money but without legal-tender qualities, and demand the retirement of National banknotes as fast as government paper or silver certificates can be substituted for them.

"We favor an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

"We are opposed to government by injunction; we denounce the blacklist, and favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employees.

"In the interest of American labor and the upbuilding of the workingman, as the cornerstone of the prosperity of our country, we recommend that Congress create a Department of Labor in charge of a Secretary with a seat in the cabinet, believing that the elevation of the American laborer will bring with it increased production and increased prosperity to our country at home and to our commerce abroad.

"We are proud of the courage and fidelity of the American soldiers and sailors in all our wars; we favor liberal pensions to them and their dependents; and we reiterate the position taken in the Chicago platform in 1896, that the fact of enlistment and service shall be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

"We favor the immediate construction, ownership, and control of the Nicaraguan canal by the United States, and we denounce the insincerity of the plank in the Republican national platform for an Isthmian canal in the face of the failure of the Republican majority to pass the bill pending in Congress.

"We condemn the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a surrender of American rights and interests not to be tolerated by the American people.

"We denounce the failure of the Republican party to carry out its pledges to grant statehood to the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, and we promise the people of those Territories immediate statehood, and home rule during their condition as Territories; and we favor home rule and a Territorial form of government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

"We favor an intelligent system of improving the arid lands of the west, storing the waters for the purpose of irrigation, and the holding of such lands for actual settlers.

"We favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion law, and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races.

"Jefferson said: 'Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.' We approve this wholesome doctrine and earnestly protest against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called world politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land-grabbing of Asia, and we especially condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly nations and which has already stifled the nation's voice while liberty is being strangled in Africa.

"Believing in the principles of self-government and rejecting, as did our forefathers, the claim of monarchy, we view with indignation the purpose of England to overwhelm with force the South African republics. Speaking, as we believe, for the entire American nation, except its Republican office-holders, and for all the free men everywhere, we extend our sympathies to the heroic burghers in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independence.

"We denounce the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and which threaten the perpetuation of the oppressive war levies. We oppose the accumulation of a surplus to be squandered in such barefaced frauds upon the taxpayers as the Shipping Subsidy bill, which, under the false pretense of fostering American shipbuilding, would put unearned millions into the pockets of favorite contributors to the Republican campaign fund. We favor the reduction and speedy repeal of the war taxes, and a return to the time-honored Democratic policy of strict economy in governmental expenditures.

"Believing that our most cherished institutions are in great peril, that the very existence of our constitutional republic is at stake, and that the decision now to be rendered will determine whether or not our children are to enjoy those blessed privileges of free government which have made the United States great, prosperous, and honored, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty-loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations."

Other Parties

People's Party.—Convention held in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, May 9-10, 1900. For President, William J. Bryan. The convention nominated for Vice-President Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, who in the summer withdrew in the interest of complete fusion with the Democratic party. Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, was thereupon nominated by the national committee of the People's party.

People's Party, "Middle-of-the-Road" Bolters.—Convention held in Cincinnati, May 9-10, 1900. For President, Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania; for Vice-President, Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR

Chester A. Arthur, 21st president; born at Fairfield, Vt., October 5, 1830; lawyer; teacher; engineer and chief of staff of Governor Edwin D. Morgan; appointed by President Grant collector of the port of New York, 1871; removed for political reasons, July 11, 1878; elected vice president, 1880; became president September 20, 1881, upon the death of President Garfield; died in New York City, November 18, 1886.

Silver Republican Party.—Convention held in Kansas City, July 4-6. For President, William J. Bryan; for Vice-President, Adlai E. Stevenson.

Prohibition Party.—Convention held in Chicago, June 27-28, 1900. For President, John G. Woolley, of Illinois; for Vice-President, Henry B. Metcalf, of Rhode Island.

Socialist Labor Party.—Convention held in New York, June 2-8. For President, Joseph Francis Malloney, of Massachusetts; for Vice-President, Valentine Rimmel, of Pennsylvania.

Social Democratic Party of the United States.—Convention held in Rochester, New York, January 27, 1900. For President, Job Harriman, of California; for Vice-President, Max S. Hayes, of Ohio.

Social Democratic Party of America.—Convention held in Indianapolis, March 6, 1900. For President, Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana; for Vice-President, Job Harriman, of California.

Union Reform Party.—Convention held in Baltimore, September 3. For President, Seth W. Ellis, of Ohio; for Vice-President, Samuel T. Nicholson, of Pennsylvania. This party restricted its program to a demand for "direct legislation under the system known as the initiative and referendum."

The Election

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, Republicans:—California, 9; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Illinois, 24; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 13; Kansas, 10; Maine, 6; Maryland, 8; Massachusetts,

15; Michigan, 14; Minnesota, 9; Nebraska, 8; New Hampshire, 4; New Jersey, 10; New York, 36; North Dakota, 3; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 4; Pennsylvania, 32; Rhode Island, 4; South Dakota, 4; Utah, 3; Vermont, 4; Washington, 4; West Virginia, 6; Wisconsin, 12; Wyoming, 3. Total, 292. Elected.

William J. Bryan and Adlai E. Stevenson, Democrats:—Alabama, 11; Arkansas, 8; Colorado, 4; Florida, 4; Georgia, 13; Idaho, 3; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 8; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 17; Montana, 3; Nevada, 3; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 15; Virginia, 12. Total, 155.

Popular vote:

McKinley, 7,219,530; Bryan, 6,358,071; Woolley, 209,166; Debs, 94,768; Barker, 50,232; Malloney, 32,751; Ellis, not collated.

1904

Republican Party

Convention held in Chicago, June 21-23, 1904. Temporary chairman, Elihu Root, of New York; permanent chairman, Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois.

President Roosevelt was unanimously renominated.

Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, was nominated unanimously for Vice-President.

Platform:

"Fifty years ago the Republican party came into existence dedicated, among other purposes, to the great task of arresting the extension of human slavery. In 1860 it elected its first President. During twenty-four of the forty-four years which have elapsed since the election of Lincoln the Republican party has held complete control of the government. For eighteen more of the forty-four years it has held partial control through the possession of one or two branches of the government, while the Democratic party during the same period has had complete control for only two years. This long tenure of power by the Republican party is not due to chance. It is a demonstration that the Republican party has commanded the confidence of the American people for nearly two generations to a degree never equaled in our history, and has displayed a high capacity for rule and government which has been made even more conspicuous by the incapacity and infirmity of purpose shown by its opponents.

"The Republican party entered upon its present period of complete supremacy in 1897. We have every right to congratulate ourselves upon the work since then accomplished, for it has added luster

even to the traditions of the party which carried the government through the storms of civil war.

"We then found the country, after four years of Democratic rule, in evil plight, oppressed with misfortune and doubtful of the future. Public credit had been lowered, the revenues were declining, the debt was growing, the administration's attitude toward Spain was feeble and mortifying, the standard of value was threatened and uncertain, labor was unemployed, business was sunk in the depression which had succeeded the panic of 1893, hope was faint, and confidence was gone.

"We met these unhappy conditions vigorously, effectively, and at once. We replaced a Democratic tariff law based on free trade principles and garnished with sectional protection by a consistent protective tariff; and industry, freed from oppression and stimulated by the encouragement of wise laws, has expanded to a degree never before known, has conquered new markets, and has created a volume of exports which has surpassed imagination. Under the Dingley tariff labor has been fully employed, wages have risen, and all industries have revived and prospered.

"We firmly established the gold standard, which was then menaced with destruction. Confidence returned to business, and with confidence an unexampled prosperity.

"For deficient revenues, supplemented by improvident issues of bonds, we gave the country an income which produced a large surplus and which enabled us only four years after the Spanish War had closed to remove over one hundred millions of annual war taxes, reduce the public debt, and lower the interest charges of the government.

"The public credit, which had been so lowered that in time of peace a Democratic administration made large loans at extravagant rates of interest in order to pay current expenditures, rose under Republican administration to its highest point and enabled us to borrow at 2 per cent. even in time of war.

"We refused to palter longer with the miseries of Cuba. We fought a quick and victorious war with Spain. We set Cuba free, governed the island for three years, and then gave it to the Cuban

people with order restored, with ample revenues, with education and public health established, free from debt, and connected with the United States by wise provisions for our mutual interests.

"We have organized the government of Porto Rico, and its people now enjoy peace, freedom, order, and prosperity.

"In the Philippines we have suppressed insurrection, established order, and given to life and property a security never known there before. We have organized civil government, made it effective and strong in administration, and have conferred upon the people of those islands the largest civil liberty they have ever enjoyed.

"By our possession of the Philippines we were enabled to take prompt and effective action in the relief of the legations at Peking and a decisive part in preventing the partition and preserving the integrity of China.

"The possession of a route for an Isthmian canal, so long the dream of American statesmanship, is now an accomplished fact. The great work of connecting the Pacific and Atlantic by a canal is at last begun, and it is due to the Republican party.

"We have passed laws which will bring the arid lands of the United States within the area of cultivation.

"We have reorganized the army and put it in the highest state of efficiency.

"We have passed laws for the improvement and support of the militia.

"We have pushed forward the building of the navy—the defense and protection of our honor and our interests.

"Our administration of the great departments of the government has been honest and efficient, and wherever wrong-doing has been discovered the Republican administration has not hesitated to probe the evil and bring the offenders to justice without regard to party or political ties.

"Laws enacted by the Republican party which the Democratic party failed to enforce and which were intended for the protection of the public against the unjust discrimination or the illegal encroachment of vast aggregations of capital, have been fearlessly enforced by a Republican President, and new laws insuring reasonable publicity

as to the operations of great corporations, and providing additional remedies for the prevention of discrimination in freight rates, have been passed by a Republican Congress.

"In this record of achievement during the past eight years may be read the pledges which the Republican party has fulfilled. We promise to continue these policies, and we declare our constant adherence to the following principles:

"Protection, which guards and develops our industries, is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. The measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. We insist upon the maintenance of the principle of protection, and therefore rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration, but this work cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. To entrust it to the Democratic party is to invite disaster. Whether, as in 1892, the Democratic party declares the protective tariff unconstitutional, or whether it demands tariff reform or tariff revision, its real object is always the destruction of the protective system. However specious the name, the purpose is ever the same. A Democratic tariff has always been followed by business adversity, a Republican tariff by business prosperity. To a Republican Congress and a Republican President this great question can be safely entrusted. When the only free trade country among the great nations agitates a return to protection, the chief protective country should not falter in maintaining it.

"We have extended widely our foreign markets, and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their further extension, including commercial reciprocity wherever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor, or any American industry.

"We believe it to be the duty of the Republican party to uphold the gold standard and the integrity and value of our national currency. The maintenance of the gold standard, established by the Republican party, cannot safely be committed to the Democratic

party, which resisted its adoption and has never given any proof since that time of belief in it or fidelity to it.

"While every other industry has prospered under the fostering aid of Republican legislation, American shipping engaged in foreign trade in competition with the low cost of construction, low wages, and heavy subsidies of foreign governments, has not for many years received from the government of the United States adequate encouragement of any kind. We therefore favor legislation which will encourage and build up the American merchant marine, and we cordially approve the legislation of the last Congress which created the Merchant Marine commission to investigate and report upon this subject.

"A navy powerful enough to defend the United States against any attack, to uphold the Monroe doctrine, and watch over our commerce, is essential to the safety and the welfare of the American people. To maintain such a navy is the fixed policy of the Republican party.

"We cordially approve the attitude of President Roosevelt and Congress in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor, and promise a continuance of the Republican policy in that direction.

"The Civil Service law was placed on the statute-books by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our former declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced.

"We are always mindful of the country's debt to the soldiers and sailors of the United States, and we believe in making ample provision for them and in the liberal administration of the Pension laws.

"We favor the peaceful settlement of international differences by arbitration.

"We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands, and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

"Our great interests and our growing commerce in the Orient

render the condition of China of high importance to the United States. We cordially commend the policy pursued in that direction by the administrations of President McKinley and President Roosevelt.

"We favor such Congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited, and if such is the case we demand that representation in Congress and in the Electoral Colleges shall be proportionally reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States.

"Combinations of capital and of labor are the results of the economic movement of the age, but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations, when lawfully formed for lawful purposes, are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws and neither can be permitted to break them.

"The great statesman and patriotic American, William McKinley, who was reelected by the Republican party to the Presidency four years ago, was assassinated just at the threshold of his second term. The entire nation mourned his untimely death and did that justice to his great qualities of mind and character which history will confirm and repeat.

"The American people were fortunate in his successor, to whom they turned with a trust and confidence which have been fully justified. President Roosevelt brought to the great responsibilities thus sadly forced upon him a clear head, a brave heart, an earnest patriotism, and high ideals of public duty and public service. True to the principles of the Republican party and to the policies which that party had declared, he has also shown himself ready for every emergency and has met new and vital questions with ability and with success.

"The confidence of the people in his justice, inspired by his public career, enabled him to render personally an inestimable service to the country by bringing about a settlement of the coal strike, which threatened such disastrous results at the opening of the winter in 1902.

"Our foreign policy under his administration has not only been able, vigorous, and dignified, but in the highest degree successful.

"The complicated questions which arose in Venezuela were settled in such a way by President Roosevelt that the Monroe doctrine was signally vindicated and the cause of peace and arbitration greatly advanced.

"His prompt and vigorous action in Panama, which we commend in the highest terms, not only secured to us the canal route but avoided foreign complications which might have been of a very serious character.

"He has continued the policy of President McKinley in the Orient, and our position in China, signalized by our recent commercial treaty with that empire, has never been so high.

"He secured the tribunal by which the vexed and perilous question of the Alaskan boundary was finally settled.

"Whenever crimes against humanity have been perpetrated which have shocked our people, his protest has been made and our good offices have been tendered, but always with due regard to international obligations.

"Under his guidance we find ourselves at peace with all the world, and never were we more respected or our wishes more regarded by foreign nations.

"Preëminently successful in regard to our foreign relations, he has been equally fortunate in dealing with domestic questions. The country has known that the public credit and the national currency were absolutely safe in the hands of his administration. In the enforcement of the laws he has shown not only courage, but the wisdom which understands that to permit laws to be violated or disregarded opens the door to anarchy, while the just enforcement of the law is the soundest conservatism. He has held firmly to the fundamental American doctrine that all men must obey the law, that there must be no distinction between rich and poor, between strong and weak, but that justice and equal protection under the law must be secured to every citizen without regard to race, creed, or condition.

"His administration has been throughout vigorous and honorable, high-minded and patriotic. We commend it without reservation to the considerate judgment of the American people."

Democratic Party

Convention held in St. Louis, July 6-9, 1904. Temporary chairman, John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi; permanent chairman, Champ Clark, of Missouri.

On the first ballot for President Alton B. Parker, of New York, was nominated. The vote stood: Parker, 679; William R. Hearst, of New York, 181; Francis M. Cockrell, of Missouri, 42; Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, 38; Edward C. Wall, of Wisconsin, 27; George Gray, of Delaware, 12; John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, 8; Robert E. Pattison, of Pennsylvania, 4; George B. McClellan, of New York, 3; Nelson A. Miles, of Massachusetts, 3; Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, 2; Bird S. Coler, of New York, 1.

The first ballot for Vice-President resulted in the nomination of Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia, by the following vote: Davis, 654; James Robert Williams, of Illinois, 165; George Turner, of Washington, 100; William A. Harris, of Kansas, 58.

Platform:

"The Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, declares its devotion to the essential principles of the Democratic faith which bring us together in party communion.

"Under these principles local self-government and national unity and prosperity were alike established. They underlaid our independence, the structure of our free republic, and every Democratic expansion from Louisiana to California and Texas to Oregon, which

preserved faithfully in all the States the tie between taxation and representation. They yet inspire the masses of our people, guarding jealously their rights and liberties and cherishing their fraternity, peace, and orderly development. They remind us of our duties and responsibilities as citizens and impress upon us, particularly at this time, the necessity of reform and the rescue of the administration of government from the headstrong, arbitrary, and spasmodic methods which distract business by uncertainty and pervade the public mind with dread, distrust, and perturbation.

"The application of these fundamental principles to the living issues of the day constitutes the first step toward the assured peace, safety, and progress of our nation. Freedom of the press, of conscience, and of speech; equality before the law of all citizens; right of trial by jury; freedom of the person defended by the writ of habeas corpus; liberty of personal contract untrammelled by sumptuary laws; supremacy of the civil over military authority; a well-disciplined militia; separation of church and state; economy in expenditures; low taxes, that labor may be lightly burdened; prompt and sacred fulfillment of public and private obligations; fidelity to treaties; peace and friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority, the vital principle of republics—these are doctrines which Democracy has established as proverbs of the nation, and they should be constantly invoked and enforced.

"Large reductions can easily be made in the annual expenditures of the government without impairing the efficiency of any branch of the public service, and we shall insist upon the strictest economy and frugality compatible with vigorous and efficient civil, military, and naval administration as a right of the people too clear to be denied or withheld.

"We favor the enforcement of honesty in the public service, and to that end a thorough legislative investigation of those executive departments of the government already known to teem with corruption, as well as other departments suspected of harboring corruption, and the punishment of ascertained corruptionists without fear or favor or regard to persons. The persistent and deliberate refusal of

both the Senate and House of Representatives to permit such investigation to be made demonstrates that only by a change in the executive and in the legislative departments can complete exposure, punishment, and correction be obtained.

"We condemn the action of the Republican party in Congress in refusing to prohibit an executive department from entering into contracts with convicted trusts or unlawful combinations in restraint of interstate trade. We believe that one of the best methods of procuring economy and honesty in the public service is to have public officials, from the occupant of the White House down to the lowest of them, return, as nearly as may be, to Jeffersonian simplicity of living.

"We favor the nomination and election of a President imbued with the principles of the Constitution, who will set his face sternly against executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions, whether that usurpation be veiled under the guise of executive construction of existing laws or whether it take refuge in the tyrant's plea of necessity or superior wisdom.

"We favor the preservation, so far as we can, of an open door for the world's commerce in the Orient without unnecessary entanglement in Oriental and European affairs, and without arbitrary, unlimited, irresponsible, and absolute government anywhere within our jurisdiction. We oppose, as fervently as did George Washington, an indefinite, irresponsible, discretionary, and vague absolutism and a policy of colonial exploitation, no matter where or by whom invoked or exercised. We believe with Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, that no government has a right to make one set of laws for those 'at home' and another and a different set of laws, absolute in their character, for those 'in the colonies.' All men under the American flag are entitled to the protection of the institutions whose emblem the flag is; if they are inherently unfit for those institutions, then they are inherently unfit to be members of the American body politic. Wherever there may exist a people incapable of being governed under American laws, in consonance with the American Constitution, the territory of that people ought not to be part of the American domain.

"We insist that we ought to do for the Filipinos what we have done already for the Cubans; and it is our duty to make that promise now, and, upon suitable guarantees of protection to citizens of our own and other countries resident there at the time of our withdrawal, to set the Filipino people upon their feet free and independent to work out their own destiny.

"The endeavor of the Secretary of War, by pledging the government's endorsement for 'promoters' in the Philippine Islands to make the United States a partner in speculative exploitation of the archipelago, which was only temporarily held up by the opposition of Democratic Senators in the last session, will, if successful, lead to entanglements from which it will be difficult to escape.

"The Democratic party has been, and will continue to be, the consistent opponent of that class of tariff legislation by which certain interests have been permitted, through Congressional favor, to draw a heavy tribute from the American people. This monstrous perversion of those equal opportunities which our political institutions were established to secure, has caused what may once have been infant industries to become the greatest combinations of capital that the world has ever known. These special favorites of the government have through trust methods been converted into monopolies, thus bringing to an end domestic competition, which was the only alleged check upon the extravagant profits made possible by the protective system. These industrial combinations, by the financial assistance they can give, now control the policy of the Republican party.

"We denounce protectionism as a robbery of the many to enrich the few, and we favor a tariff limited to the needs of the government economically, effectively, and constitutionally administered, and so levied as not to discriminate against any industry, class, or section, to the end that the burdens of taxation shall be distributed as equally as possible.

"We favor a revision and a gradual reduction of the tariff by the friends of the masses and for the common weal, and not by the friends of its abuses, its extortions, and its discriminations—keeping in view the ultimate end of 'equality of burdens and equality of opportunities' and the constitutional purpose of raising a revenue by taxa-

tion, to-wit: the support of the Federal government in all its integrity and virility, but in simplicity.

"We recognize that the gigantic trusts and combinations designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor, and which have been fostered and promoted under Republican rule, are a menace to beneficial competition and an obstacle to permanent business prosperity.

"A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable.

"Individual equality of opportunity and free competition are essential to a healthy and permanent commercial prosperity; and any trust, combination, or monopoly tending to destroy these by controlling production, restricting competition, or fixing prices and wages should be prohibited and punished by law. We especially denounce rebates and discriminations by transportation companies as the most potent agency in promoting and strengthening these unlawful conspiracies against trade.

"We demand an enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce commission, to the end that the traveling public and shippers of this country may have prompt and adequate relief from the abuses to which they are subjected in the matter of transportation. We demand a strict enforcement of existing civil and criminal statutes against all such trusts, combinations, and monopolies; and we demand the enactment of such further legislation as may be necessary effectually to suppress them.

"Any trust or unlawful combination engaged in interstate commerce which is monopolizing any branch of business or production, should not be permitted to transact business outside of the State of its origin whenever it shall be established in any court of competent jurisdiction that such monopolization exists. Such prohibition should be enforced through comprehensive laws to be enacted on the subject.

"We favor the enactment and administration of laws giving labor and capital impartially their just rights. Capital and labor ought not to be enemies. Each is necessary to the other. Each has its rights, but the rights of labor are certainly no less 'vested,' no less 'sacred,' and no less 'inalienable' than the rights of capital.

"We favor arbitration of differences between corporate employers

and their employes and a strict enforcement of the Eight-hour law on all government work.

"We approve the measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, but which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact, relating to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

"Constitutional guarantees are violated whenever any citizen is denied the right to labor, acquire, and enjoy property, or reside where interest or inclination may determine. Any denial thereof by individuals, organizations, or governments should be summarily rebuked and punished.

"We deny the right of any Executive to disregard or suspend any constitutional privilege or limitation. Obedience to the laws and respect for their requirements are alike the supreme duty of the citizen and the official.

"The military should be used only to support and maintain the law. We unqualifiedly condemn its employment for the summary banishment of citizens without trial, or for the control of elections.

"We favor liberal appropriations for the care and improvement of the waterways of the country. When any waterway, like the Mississippi River, is of sufficient importance to demand the special aid of the government, such aid should be extended with a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

"We oppose the Republican policy of starving home development in order to feed the greed for conquest and the appetite for national 'prestige' and display of strength.

"We congratulate our western citizens upon the passage of the measure known as the Newlands Irrigation act for the irrigation and reclamation of the arid lands of the west—a measure framed by a Democrat, passed in the Senate by a non-partisan vote, and passed in the House against the opposition of almost all the Republican leaders by a vote the majority of which was Democratic. We call attention to this great Democratic measure, broad and comprehensive as it is, working automatically throughout all time without further action of Congress until the reclamation of all the lands in the arid west capable of reclamation is accomplished, reserving the lands reclaimed for

homeseekers in small tracts and rigidly guarding against land monopoly, as an evidence of the policy of domestic development contemplated by the Democratic party, should it be placed in power.

"The Democracy when entrusted with power will construct the Panama canal speedily, honestly, and economically, thereby giving to our people what Democrats have always contended for—a great inter-oceanic canal furnishing shorter and cheaper lines of transportation and broader and less trammelled trade relations with the other peoples of the world.

"We pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad, and to use all proper measures to secure for them, whether native-born or naturalized, and without distinction of race or creed, the equal protection of laws and the enjoyment of all rights and privileges open to them under the covenants of our treaties of friendship and commerce; and if under existing treaties the right of travel and sojourn is denied to American citizens or recognition is withheld from American passports by any countries on the ground of race or creed, we favor the beginning of negotiations with the governments of such countries to secure by new treaties the removal of these unjust discriminations.

"We demand that all over the world a duly authenticated passport issued by the government of the United States to an American citizen shall be proof of the fact that he is an American citizen and shall entitle him to the treatment due him as such.

"We favor the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

"We favor the admission of the Territory of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. We also favor the immediate admission of Arizona and New Mexico as separate States, and Territorial governments for Alaska and Porto Rico. We hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, as well as the District of Alaska, should be bona fide residents, at the time of their appointment, of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed.

"We demand the extermination of polygamy within the jurisdic-



GROVER CLEVELAND

Grover Cleveland, 22d and 24th president; born at Caldwell, N. J., March 18, 1837; lawyer; assistant district attorney of Erie County, 1863; defeated for district attorney, 1865; sheriff, 1870-73; mayor of Buffalo, 1881; governor of New York State, 1883; elected president, 1884; defeated for reelection by Benjamin Harrison, 1888; reelected 1892; died July 24, 1908, Princeton, N. J.

tion of the United States, and the complete separation of church and state in political affairs.

"We denounce the Ship Subsidy bill recently passed by the United States Senate as an iniquitous appropriation of public funds for private purposes and a wasteful, illogical, and useless attempt to overcome by subsidy the obstructions raised by Republican legislation to the growth and development of American commerce on the sea. We favor the upbuilding of a merchant marine without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury.

"We favor liberal trade arrangements with Canada, and with peoples of other countries where they can be entered into with benefit to American agriculture, manufactures, mining, or commerce.

"We favor the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine in its full integrity.

"We favor the reduction of the army and of army expenditures to the point historically demonstrated to be safe and sufficient.

"The Democracy would secure to the surviving soldiers and sailors and their dependents generous pensions, not by an arbitrary Executive order but by legislation which a grateful people stand ready to enact. Our soldiers and sailors who defended with their lives the Constitution and the laws have a sacred interest in their just administration. They must therefore share with us the humiliation with which we have witnessed the exaltation of court favorites, without distinguished service, over the scarred heroes of many battles, or aggrandizement by Executive appropriations out of the treasuries of prostrate peoples in violation of the act of Congress which fixed the compensation of allowance of the military officers.

"The Democratic party stands committed to the principles of civil service reform, and we demand their honest, just, and impartial enforcement. We denounce the Republican party for its continuous and sinister encroachments upon the spirit and operation of civil service rule, whereby it has arbitrarily dispensed with examinations for office in the interest of favorites and employed all manner of devices to overreach and set aside the principles upon which the civil service is based.

"The race question has brought countless woes to this country. The calm wisdom of the American people should see to it that it brings no more. To revive the dead and hateful race and sectional animosities in any part of our common country means confusion, distraction of business, and the reopening of wounds now happily healed. North, south, east, and west have but recently stood together in line of battle from the walls of Peking to the hills of Santiago, and as sharers of a common glory and a common destiny we should share fraternally the common burdens.

"We therefore deprecate and condemn the Bourbon-like, selfish, and narrow spirit of the recent Republican convention at Chicago which sought to kindle anew the embers of racial and sectional strife, and we appeal from it to the sober common sense and patriotic spirit of the American people.

"The existing Republican administration has been spasmodic, erratic, sensational, spectacular, and arbitrary. It has made itself a satire upon the Congress and courts, and upon the settled practices and usages of national and international law.

"It summoned the Congress in hasty and futile extra session and virtually adjourned it, leaving behind in its flight from Washington uncalled calendars and unaccomplished tasks.

"It made war, which is the sole power of Congress, without its authority, thereby usurping one of its fundamental prerogatives. It violated a plain statute of the United States as well as plain treaty obligations, international usages, and constitutional law; and has done so under pretense of executing a great public policy which could have been more easily effected lawfully, constitutionally, and with honor.

"It forced strained and unnatural constructions upon statutes, usurping judicial interpretation and substituting for Congressional enactment Executive decree.

"It withdrew from the Congress its customary duties of investigation which have heretofore made the representatives of the people and the States the terror of evil-doers.

"It conducted a secretive investigation of its own, and, boasting of a few sample convicts, it threw a broad coverlet over the bureaus

which had been the chosen field of operative abuses and kept in power the superior officers under whose administration the crimes had been committed.

"It ordered assault upon some monopolies, but, paralyzed by a first victory, it flung out the flag of truce and cried out that it would not 'run amuck,' leaving its future purposes beclouded by its vacillations.

"Conducting the campaign upon this declaration of our principles and purposes, we invoke for our candidates the support not only of our great and time-honored organization, but also the active assistance of all of our fellow-citizens who, disregarding past differences, desire the perpetuation of our constitutional government as framed and established by the fathers of the republic."

The deliberations in the committee on resolutions involved conflicting views on the financial question, and by unanimous agreement no reference whatever was made to that question. This harmonious action was due to a general recognition that free silver had ceased to be an issue because of the country's full acceptance of the gold standard. The platform, silent on the subject, was unanimously adopted by the convention.

Judge Parker, however, after receiving the news of his nomination for the Presidency, felt that it was due to the convention and the country that his own position should be clearly defined. He consequently sent the following telegram to William F. Sheehan, one of the New York delegates in attendance at the convention :

"ESOPUS, New York, July 9, 1904.

"I regard the gold standard as firmly and irrevocably established, and shall act accordingly if the action of the convention to-day shall be ratified by the people. As the platform is silent on the subject, my view should be made known to the convention, and if it is proved

to be unsatisfactory to the majority I request you to decline the nomination for me at once so that another may be nominated before adjournment.

ALTON B. PARKER."

By 794 ayes to 191 nays the convention voted to send Judge Parker the following reply:

"The platform adopted by this convention is silent upon the question of the monetary standard because it is not regarded by us as a possible issue in this campaign, and only campaign issues are mentioned in the platform. Therefore there is nothing in the views expressed by you in the telegram just received which would preclude a man entertaining them from accepting a nomination on said platform."

Other Parties

People's Party.—Convention held in Springfield, Illinois, July 4-6, 1904. For President, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia; for Vice-President, Thomas H. Tibbles, of Nebraska.

Prohibition Party.—Convention held in Indianapolis, June 29-July 1, 1904. For President, Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania; for Vice-President, George W. Carroll, of Texas.

Socialist Labor Party.—Convention held in New York, July 3-9, 1904. For President, Charles H. Corrigan, of New York; for Vice-President, William W. Cox, of Illinois.

Socialist Party.—Convention held in Chicago, May 1-6, 1904. For President, Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana; for Vice-President, Benjamin Hanford, of New York.

The Election

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

Theodore Roosevelt and Charles W. Fairbanks, Republicans:—California, 10; Colorado, 5; Connecticut, 7; Delaware, 3; Idaho, 3; Illinois, 27; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 13; Kansas, 10; Maine, 6; Maryland, 1; Massachusetts, 16; Michigan, 14; Minnesota, 11; Missouri, 18; Montana, 3; Nebraska, 8; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 4; New Jersey, 12; New York, 39; North Dakota, 4; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 4; Pennsylvania, 34; Rhode Island, 4; South Dakota, 4; Utah, 3; Vermont, 4; Washington, 5; West Virginia, 7; Wisconsin, 13; Wyoming, 3. Total, 336. Elected.

Alton B. Parker and Henry G. Davis, Democrats:—Alabama, 11; Arkansas, 9; Florida, 5; Georgia, 13; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 9; Maryland, 7; Mississippi, 10; North Carolina, 12; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 18; Virginia, 12. Total, 140.

Popular vote:

Roosevelt, 7,628,834; Parker, 5,084,491; Debs, 402,460; Swallow, 259,257; Watson, 114,753; Corrigan, 33,724.

1908

Republican Party

Convention held in Chicago, June 16-19, 1908. Temporary chairman, Julius C. Burrows, of Michigan; permanent chairman, Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts.

William H. Taft, of Ohio, was nominated for President on the first ballot, the vote standing: Taft, 703; Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania, 68; Charles E. Hughes, of New York, 67; Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, 40; Robert M. LaFollette, of Wisconsin, 25; Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio, 16; Theodore Roosevelt, 3.

James S. Sherman, of New York, received the Vice-Presidential nomination on the first ballot, having 816 votes to 163 for four others.

Platform:

"Once more the Republican party, in national convention assembled, submits its cause to the people. This great historic organization that destroyed slavery, preserved the Union, restored credit, expanded the national domain, established a sound financial system, developed the industries and resources of the country, and gave to the nation her seat of honor in the councils of the world, now meets the new problems of government with the same courage and capacity with which it solved the old.

"Republicanism under Roosevelt.—In this, the greatest era of American advancement, the Republican party has reached its highest service under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt. His administra-

tion is an epoch in American history. In no other period since national sovereignty was won under Washington, or preserved under Lincoln, has there been such mighty progress in those ideals of government which make for justice, equality, and fair-dealing among men. The highest aspirations of the American people have found a voice. Their most exalted servant represents the best aims and worthiest purposes of all his countrymen. American manhood has been lifted to a noble sense of duty and obligation. Conscience and courage in public station and higher standards of right and wrong in private life have become cardinal principles of political faith; capital and labor have been brought into closer relations of confidence and interdependence; and the abuse of wealth, the tyranny of power, and all the evils of privilege and favoritism have been put to scorn by the simple, manly virtues of justice and fair play.

"The great accomplishments of President Roosevelt have been, first and foremost, a brave and impartial enforcement of the law; the prosecution of illegal trusts and monopolies; the exposure and punishment of evil-doers in the public service; the more effective regulation of the rates and service of the great transportation lines; the complete overthrow of preferences, rebates, and discriminations; the arbitration of labor disputes; the amelioration of the condition of wage-workers everywhere; the conservation of the natural resources of the country; the forward step in the improvement of the inland waterways; and always the earnest support and defense of every wholesome safeguard which has made more secure the guarantees of life, liberty, and property.

"These are the achievements that will make for Theodore Roosevelt his place in history, but more than all else the great things he has done will be an inspiration to those who have yet greater things to do. We declare our unfaltering adherence to the policies thus inaugurated, and pledge their continuance under a Republican administration of the government.

"Equality of Opportunity.—Under the guidance of Republican principles the American people have become the richest nation in the world. Our wealth to-day exceeds that of England and all her colonies, and that of France and Germany combined. When the

Republican party was born the total wealth of the country was \$16,000,000,000. It has leaped to \$110,000,000,000 in a generation, while Great Britain has gathered but \$60,000,000,000 in five hundred years. The United States now owns one-fourth of the world's wealth and makes one-third of all modern manufactured products. In the great necessities of civilization, such as coal, the motive power of all activity; iron, the chief basis of all industry; cotton, the staple foundation of all fabrics; wheat, corn, and all the agricultural products that feed mankind, American's supremacy is undisputed. And yet her great natural wealth has been scarcely touched. We have a vast domain of three million square miles, literally bursting with latent treasure, still waiting the magic of capital and industry to be converted to the practical uses of mankind; a country rich in soil and climate, in the unharnessed energy of its rivers, and in all the varied products of the field, the forest, and the factory. With gratitude for God's bounty, with pride in the splendid productiveness of the past, and with confidence in the plenty and prosperity of the future, the Republican party declares for the principle that in the development and enjoyment of wealth so great and blessings so benign there shall be equal opportunity for all.

"Revival of Business.—Nothing so clearly demonstrates the sound basis upon which our commercial, industrial, and agricultural interests are founded, and the necessity of promoting their continued welfare through the operation of Republican policies, as the recent safe passage of the American people through a financial disturbance which, if appearing in the midst of Democratic rule or the menace of it, might have equaled the familiar Democratic panics of the past. We congratulate the people upon this renewed evidence of American supremacy and hail with confidence the signs now manifest of a complete restoration of business prosperity in all lines of trade, commerce, and manufacturing.

"Recent Republican Legislation.—Since the election of William McKinley in 1896, the people of this country have felt anew the wisdom of entrusting to the Republican party, through decisive majorities, the control and direction of national legislation.

"The many wise and progressive measures adopted at recent sessions of Congress have demonstrated the patriotic resolve of Republican leadership in the legislative department to keep step in the forward march toward better government.

"Notwithstanding the indefensible filibustering of a Democratic minority in the House of Representatives during the last session, many wholesome and progressive laws were enacted, and we especially commend the passage of the Emergency Currency bill, the appointment of the National Monetary commission, the Employers' and Government Liability laws, the measures for the greater efficiency of the army and navy, the Widows' Pension bill, the Child Labor law for the District of Columbia, the new statute for the safety of railroad engineers and firemen, and many other acts conserving the public welfare.

"*Tariff.*—The Republican party declares unequivocally for a revision of the tariff by a special session of Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President, and commends the steps already taken to this end in the work assigned to the appropriate committees of Congress which are now investigating the operation and effect of existing schedules.

"In all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries. We favor the establishment of maximum and minimum rates to be administered by the President under limitations fixed in the law, the maximum to be available to meet discriminations by foreign countries against American goods entering their markets, and the minimum to represent the normal measure of protection at home—the aim and purpose of the Republican policy being not only to preserve, without excessive duties, that security against foreign competition to which American manufacturers, farmers, and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wage-earners of this country, who are the most direct beneficiaries of the protective system. Between the United States and the Philippines we believe in a free inter-

change of products with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco as will afford adequate protection to domestic interests.

"Currency.—We approve the emergency measures adopted by the government during the recent financial disturbance, and especially commend the passage by Congress at the last session of the law designed to protect the country from a repetition of such stringency. The Republican party is committed to the development of a permanent currency system, responding to our greater needs; and the appointment of the National Monetary commission by the present Congress, which will impartially investigate all proposed methods, insures the early realization of this purpose. The present currency laws have fully justified their adoption; but an expanding commerce, a marvelous growth in wealth and population multiplying the centers of distribution, increasing the demand for the movement of crops in the west and south, and entailing periodic changes in monetary conditions, disclose the need of a more elastic and adaptable system. Such a system must meet the requirements of agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants, and business men generally, must be automatic in operation, minimizing the fluctuations in interest rates, and, above all, must be in harmony with the Republican doctrine which insists that every dollar shall be based upon and as good as gold.

"Postal Savings.—We favor the establishment of a postal savings bank system for the convenience of the people and the encouragement of thrift.

"Trusts.—The Republican party passed the Sherman Anti-Trust law over Democratic opposition, and enforced it after Democratic dereliction. It has been a wholesome instrument for good in the hands of a wise and fearless administration. But experience has shown that its effectiveness can be strengthened and its real objects better attained by such amendments as will give to the Federal government greater supervision and control over, and secure greater publicity in, the management of that class of corporations engaged in interstate commerce having power and opportunity to effect monopolies.

"Railroads.—We approve the enactment of the Railroad Rate law and the vigorous enforcement by the present administration of the

statutes against rebates and discriminations, as a result of which the advantages formerly possessed by the large shipper over the small shipper have substantially disappeared; and in this connection we commend the appropriation by the present Congress to enable the Interstate Commerce commission to thoroughly investigate and give publicity to the accounts of interstate railroads. We believe, however, that the Interstate Commerce law should be further amended so as to give railroads the right to make and publish tariff agreements subject to the approval of the commission but maintaining always the principle of competition between naturally competing lines and avoiding the common control of such lines by any means whatsoever. We favor such national legislation and supervision as will prevent the future over-issue of stock and bonds by interstate carriers.

"Railroad and Government Employes.—The enactment in constitutional form at the present session of Congress of the Employers' Liability law; the passage and enforcement of the Safety Appliance statutes, as well as the additional protection secured for engineers and firemen; the reduction in the hours of labor of trainmen and railroad telegraphers; the successful exercise of the powers of mediation and arbitration between interstate railroads and their employes, and the law making a beginning in the policy of compensation for injured employes of the government, are among the most commendable accomplishments of the present administration. But there is further work in this direction yet to be done, and the Republican party pledges its continued devotion to every cause that makes for safety and the betterment of conditions among those whose labor contributes so much to the progress and welfare of the country.

"Wage-Earners Generally.—The same wise policy which has induced the Republican party to maintain protection to American labor; to establish an eight-hour day in the construction of all public works; to increase the list of employes who shall have preferred claims for wages under the bankruptcy laws; to adopt a child labor statute for the District of Columbia; to direct an investigation into the condition of working women and children, and later, of employes of telephone and telegraph companies engaged in interstate business; to appropriate \$150,000 at the recent session of Congress in order to

secure a thorough inquiry into the causes of catastrophies and loss of life in the mines; and to amend and strengthen the law prohibiting the importation of contract labor, will be pursued in every legitimate direction within Federal authority to lighten the burdens and increase the opportunity for happiness and advancement of all who toil. The Republican party recognizes the special needs of wage-workers generally, for their well-being means the well-being of all. But more important than all other considerations is that of good citizenship, and we especially stand for the needs of every American, whatever his occupation, in his capacity as a self-respecting citizen.

"Court Procedure.—The Republican party will uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, State and Federal, and will ever insist that their power to enforce their processes and to protect life, liberty, and property shall be preserved inviolate. We believe, however, that the rule of procedure in the Federal courts with respect to the issuance of the writ of injunction should be more accurately defined by statute, and that no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay, in which case a speedy hearing thereafter should be granted.

"The American Farmer.—Among those whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as is that of the wage-earner, is the American farmer. The prosperity of the country rests peculiarly upon the prosperity of agriculture. The Republican party during the last twelve years has accomplished extraordinary work in bringing the resources of the national government to the aid of the farmer, not only in advancing agriculture itself but in increasing the conveniences of rural life. Free rural mail delivery has been established; it now reaches millions of our citizens, and we favor its extension until every community in the land receives the full benefits of the postal service. We recognize the social and economical advantages of good country roads, maintained more and more largely at public expense and less and less at the expense of the abutting owner. In this work we commend the growing practice of State aid, and we approve the efforts of the national Agricultural department by experi-

ments and otherwise to make clear to the public the best methods of road construction.

"Rights of the Negro.—The Republican party has been for more than fifty years the consistent friend of the American negro. It gave him freedom and citizenship. It wrote into the organic law the declarations that proclaim his civil and political rights, and it believes to-day that his noteworthy progress in intelligence, industry, and good citizenship has earned the respect and encouragement of the nation. We demand equal justice for all men, without regard to race or color; we declare once more, and without reservation, for the enforcement in letter and spirit of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution which were designed for the protection and advancement of the negro; and we condemn all devices that have for their real aim his disfranchisement for reasons of color alone as unfair, un-American, and repugnant to the supreme law of the land.

"Natural Resources and Waterways.—We endorse the movement inaugurated by the administration for the conservation of natural resources; we approve all measures to prevent the waste of timber; we commend the work now going on for the reclamation of arid lands, and reaffirm the Republican policy of the free distribution of the available areas of the public domain to the landless settler. No obligation of the future is more insistent, and none will result in greater blessings to posterity. In line with this splendid undertaking is the future duty, equally imperative, to enter upon a systematic improvement upon a large and comprehensive plan, just to all portions of the country, of the waterways, harbors, and Great Lakes, whose natural adaptability to the increasing traffic of the land is one of the greatest gifts of a benign Providence.

"The Army and Navy.—The Sixtieth Congress passed many commendable acts increasing the efficiency of the army and navy; making the militia of the States an integral part of the national establishment; authorizing joint manœuvres of army and militia; fortifying new naval bases and completing the construction of coaling stations; instituting a female nurse corps for naval hospitals and ships; and adding two new battleships, ten torpedo-boat destroyers, three steam

colliers, and eight submarines to the strength of the navy. Although at peace with all the world, and secure in the consciousness that the American people do not desire and will not provoke a war with any other country, we nevertheless declare our unalterable devotion to a policy that will keep this republic ready at all times to defend her traditional doctrines and assure her appropriate part in promoting permanent tranquillity among the nations.

"Protection of American Citizens Abroad.—We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands, and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the government to procure for all citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

"Extension of Foreign Commerce.—Under the administration of the Republican party the foreign commerce of the United States has experienced a remarkable growth, until it has a present annual valuation of approximately three billions of dollars and gives employment to a vast amount of labor and capital which would otherwise be idle. It has inaugurated, through the recent visit of the Secretary of State to South America and Mexico, a new era of Pan-American commerce and comity, which is bringing us into closer touch with our twenty sister American republics having a common historical heritage, a republican form of government, and offering us a limitless field of legitimate commercial expansion.

"Arbitration and The Hague Treaties.—The conspicuous contributions of American statesmanship to the great cause of international peace, so signally advanced in The Hague conferences, are an occasion for just pride and gratification. At the last session of the Senate of the United States eleven Hague conventions were ratified, establishing the rights of neutrals, laws of war on land, restriction of submarine mines, limiting the use of force for the collection of contractual debts, governing the opening of hostilities, extending the application of Geneva principles, and in many ways lessening the evils of war and promoting the peaceful settlement of international controversies. At the same session twelve arbitration conventions with great nations

were confirmed, and extradition, boundary, and naturalization treaties of supreme importance were ratified. We endorse such achievements as the highest duty a people can perform, and proclaim the obligation of further strengthening the bonds of friendship and good-will with all the nations of the world.

"Merchant Marine.—We adhere to the Republican doctrine of encouragement to American shipping and urge such legislation as will revive the merchant marine prestige of the country so essential to national defense, the enlargement of foreign trade, and the industrial prosperity of our own people.

"Veterans of the Wars.—Another Republican policy which must be ever maintained is that of generous provision for those who have fought the country's battles and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen. We commend the increase in the widows' pension made by the present Congress and declare for a liberal administration of all Pension laws, to the end that the people's gratitude may grow deeper as the memories of heroic sacrifice grow more and more sacred with the passing years.

"Civil Service.—We reaffirm our former declarations that the Civil Service laws, enacted, extended, and enforced by the Republican party, shall continue to be maintained and obeyed.

"Public Health.—We commend the efforts designed to secure greater efficiency in national public health agencies and favor such legislation as will effect this purpose.

"Bureau of Mines and Mining.—In the interest of the great mineral industries of our country, we earnestly favor the establishment of a Bureau of Mines and Mining.

"Cuba, Porto Rico, Philippines, and Panama.—The American government, in Republican hands, has freed Cuba, given peace and protection to Porto Rico and the Philippines under our flag, and begun the construction of the Panama canal. The present conditions in Cuba vindicate the wisdom of maintaining, between that republic and this, imperishable bonds of mutual interest, and the hope is now expressed that the Cuban people will soon again be ready to assume complete sovereignty over their land.

"In Porto Rico the government of the United States is meeting

loyal and patriotic support, order and prosperity prevail, and the well-being of the people is in every respect promoted and conserved. We believe that the native inhabitants of Porto Rico should be at once collectively made citizens of the United States, and that all others properly qualified under existing laws residing in said island should have the privilege of becoming naturalized.

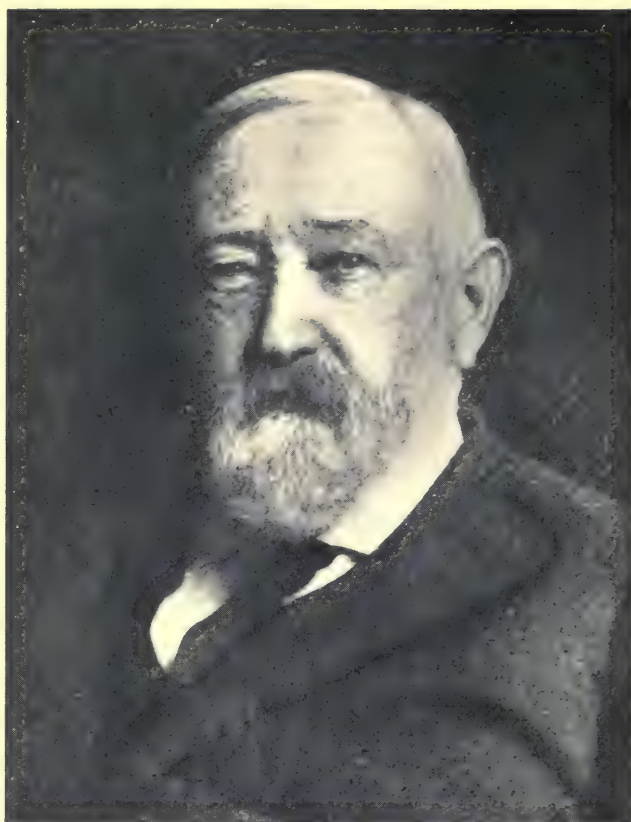
"In the Philippines insurrection has been suppressed, law established, and life and property made secure. Education and practical experience are there advancing the capacity of the people for government, and the policies of McKinley and Roosevelt are leading the inhabitants step by step to an ever-increasing measure of home rule.

"Time has justified the selection of the Panama route for the great Isthmian canal, and events have shown the wisdom of securing authority over the zone through which it is to be built. The work is now progressing with a rapidity far beyond expectation, and already the realization of the hopes of centuries has come within the vision of the near future.

"*New Mexico and Arizona.*—We favor the immediate admission of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona as separate States in the Union.

"*Centenary of the Birth of Lincoln.*—February 12, 1909, will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, an immortal spirit whose fame has brightened with the receding years and whose name stands among the first of those given to the world by the great republic. We recommend that this centennial anniversary be celebrated throughout the confines of the nation by all the people thereof, and especially by the public schools, as an exercise to stir the patriotism of the youth of the land.

"*Democratic Incapacity for Government.*—We call the attention of the American people to the fact that none of the great measures here advocated by the Republican party could be enacted, and none of the steps forward here proposed could be taken, under a Democratic administration or under one in which party responsibility is divided. The continuance of present policies, therefore, absolutely requires the continuance in power of that party which believes in them and which possesses the capacity to put them into operation.



BENJAMIN HARRISON

Benjamin Harrison, 23d president; born at North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833; lawyer; served in civil war; United States senator, 1881-87; elected president, 1888; defeated for reelection by Grover Cleveland, 1892; died at Indianapolis, Ind., March 13, 1901.

"Fundamental Differences Between Democracy and Republicanism.—Beyond all platform declarations there are fundamental differences between the Republican party and its chief opponent which make the one worthy and the other unworthy of public trust.

"In history, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that the one stood for debased currency, the other for honest currency; the one for free silver, the other for sound money; the one for free trade, the other for protection; the one for the contraction of American influence, the other for its expansion; the one has been forced to abandon every position taken on the great issues before the people, the other has held and vindicated all.

"In experience, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one means adversity, while the other means prosperity; one means low wages, the other means high; one means doubt and debt, the other means confidence and thrift.

"In principle, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one stands for vacillation and timidity in government, the other for strength and purpose; one stands for obstruction, the other for construction; one promises, the other performs; one finds fault, the other finds work.

"The present tendencies of the two parties are even more marked by inherent differences. The trend of Democracy is toward socialism, while the Republican party stands for a wise and regulated individualism. Socialism would destroy wealth, Republicanism would prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take; Republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn. Socialism would offer an equality of possession which would soon leave no one anything to possess; Republicanism would give equality of opportunity which would assure to each his share of a constantly increasing sum of possessions. In line with this tendency the Democratic party of to-day believes in government ownership, while the Republican party believes in government regulation. Ultimately Democracy would have the nation own the people, while Republicanism would have the people own the nation.

"Upon this platform of principles and purposes, reaffirming our adherence to every Republican doctrine proclaimed since the birth of

the party, we go before the country asking the support not only of those who have acted with us heretofore, but of all our fellow-citizens who, regardless of past political differences, unite in the desire to maintain the policies, perpetuate the blessings, and make secure the achievements of a greater America."

A minority report on platform was presented to the convention by Henry Allen Cooper, member of the committee on resolutions from Wisconsin. This embodied resolutions in favor of 1. Physical valuation of the railways as the basis for determination of just and reasonable railway rates; 2. Recognition of the principle that tariff duties should not be levied to such extent as to establish monopoly; 3. Maintenance, enforcement, and strengthening of the Sherman Anti-Trust law as applied to trusts and combinations to control production and prices, but exemption of labor organizations from the operation of that law; 4. Election of United States Senators by direct popular vote; 5. Publicity of campaign contributions and expenditures; 6. Interstate regulation of telegraph and telephone services and rates; 7. No ship subsidies, or other privileges to special interests at public expense; 8. Prohibition of the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes; 9. Enlargement of the President's cabinet by the appointment of a Secretary of Labor; 10. Extension of the Eight-hour law to all employes engaged on government work; and 11. Enactment by Congress of a general Employers' Liability law.

The minority report was briefly debated on the floor of the convention. Albert J. Hopkins, of Illinois, the chairman of the committee on resolutions, said:

"Everything that is Republican in any one of those planks is already adopted in the majority report. We [the committee] rejected in those planks that have been offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin the doctrines of socialism embodied in them. . . . The question for you to determine is whether you will stand by the report of the majority, or whether you will take the Socialist-Democratic utterances of Wisconsin."

Separate votes by roll-call were taken on Mr. Cooper's resolutions Nos. 1, 4, and 5, with the following results: No. 1—ayes 63, nays 917; No. 4—ayes 114, nays 866; No. 5—ayes 94, nays 880. The remaining resolutions were voted on as a whole and rejected by 28 ayes to 952 nays.

Democratic Party

Convention held in Denver, July 7-10, 1908. Temporary chairman, Theodore A. Bell, of California; permanent chairman, Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama. On the first day of the convention, immediately after completion of the organization, resolutions on the death of Grover Cleveland, offered by I. J. Dunn, of Nebraska, were adopted,¹ and as a further mark of respect to the departed leader adjournment was taken until the following day.

The convention nominated William J. Bryan for

¹A more extended and laudatory expression in honor of Mr. Cleveland had been prepared for submission to the convention by Alton B. Parker, but before he could present it Mr. Dunn had been recognized by the chairman, and so the Dunn resolutions had priority. Mr. Parker thereupon rose and read his intended expression, but did not offer it as a substitute.

The incident has been referred to by some writers as evidencing a purpose on the part of Mr. Cleveland's old antagonists—if not of the Democratic convention itself—to do him but scant honor. But the wording of the

President, only one ballot being taken, which stood: Bryan, 888½; George Gray, of Delaware, 59½; John A. Johnson, of Minnesota, 46.

John W. Kern, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

Platform (unanimously adopted):

"We, the representatives of the Democracy of the United States, in national convention assembled, reaffirm our belief in, and pledge our loyalty to, the principles of the party.

"We rejoice at the increasing signs of an awakening throughout the country. The various investigations have traced graft and political corruption to the representatives of predatory wealth, and laid bare the unscrupulous methods by which they have debauched elections and preyed upon a defenseless public through the subservient officials whom they have raised to place and power.

"The conscience of the nation is now aroused to free the government from the grip of those who have made it a business asset of the favor-seeking corporations. It must become again a people's government, and be administered in all its departments according to the Jeffersonian maxim, 'Equal rights to all; special privileges to none.'

"Shall the people rule? is the overshadowing issue which manifests itself in all the questions now under discussion.

"Increase of Office-Holders.—Coincident with the enormous increase in expenditures is a like addition to the number of office-holders. During the past year 23,784 were added, costing \$16,156,000, and in the past six years of Republican administration the total number of new offices created, aside from many commissions, has been 99,319,

Dunn resolutions gave no indication of such a design. The following tribute was paid in them to Mr. Cleveland:

"We, the delegates of the party in national convention assembled, recognize in him one of the strongest and ablest characters known to the world's statesmanship, who possessed to an extraordinary degree the elements of leadership and by his able, conscientious, and forceful administration of public affairs reflected honor upon his country and upon his party."

See *Official Report* of the convention, pp. 31-35.

entailing an additional expenditure of nearly \$70,000,000, as against only 10,279 new offices created under the Cleveland and McKinley administrations, which involved an expenditure of only \$6,000,000. We denounce this great and growing increase in the number of office-holders as not only unnecessary and wasteful, but also as clearly indicating a deliberate purpose on the part of the administration to keep the Republican party in power at public expense by thus increasing the number of its retainers and dependents. Such procedure we declare to be no less dangerous and corrupt than the open purchase of votes at the polls.

"Economy in Administration.—The Republican Congress in the session just ended made appropriations amounting to \$1,008,000,000, exceeding the total expenditures of the past fiscal year by \$90,000,000 and leaving a deficit of more than \$60,000,000 for the fiscal year just ended. We denounce the heedless waste of the people's money which has resulted in this appalling increase as a shameful violation of all prudent considerations of government and as no less than a crime against the millions of working men and women, from whose earnings the great proportion of these colossal sums must be extorted through excessive tariff exactions and other indirect methods. It is not surprising that in the face of this shocking record the Republican platform contains no reference to economical administration or promise thereof in the future. We demand that a stop be put to this frightful extravagance, and insist upon the strictest economy in every department compatible with frugal and efficient administration.

"Arbitrary Power—The Speaker.—The House of Representatives was designed by the fathers of the Constitution to be the popular branch of our government, responsive to the public will.

"The House of Representatives, as controlled in recent years by the Republican party, has ceased to be a deliberative and legislative body responsive to the will of a majority of its members, but has come under the absolute domination of the Speaker, who has entire control of its deliberations and powers of legislation.

"We have observed with amazement the popular branch of our Federal government helpless to obtain either the consideration or enactment of measures desired by a majority of its members.

"Legislative control becomes a failure when one member in the person of the Speaker is more powerful than the entire body.

"We demand that the House of Representatives shall again become a deliberative body, controlled by a majority of the people's representatives, and not by the Speaker; and we pledge ourselves to adopt such rules and regulations to govern the House of Representatives as will enable a majority of its members to direct its deliberations and control legislation.

"Misuse of Patronage.—We condemn as a violation of the spirit of our institutions the action of the present Chief-Executive in using the patronage of his high office to secure the nomination for the Presidency of one of his cabinet officers. A forced succession to the Presidency is scarcely less repugnant to public sentiment than is life tenure in that office. No good intention on the part of the Executive, and no virtue in the one selected, can justify the establishment of a dynasty. The right of the people freely to select their officials is inalienable and cannot be delegated.

"Publicity of Campaign Contributions.—We demand Federal legislation forever terminating the partnership which has existed between corporations of the country and the Republican party under the expressed or implied agreement that in return for the contribution of great sums of money wherewith to purchase elections, they should be allowed to continue substantially unmolested in their efforts to encroach upon the rights of the people.

"Any reasonable doubt as to the existence of this relation has been forever dispelled by the sworn testimony of witnesses examined in the insurance investigation in New York, and the open admission of a single individual—unchallenged by the Republican national committee—that he himself, at the personal request of the Republican candidate for the Presidency, raised over a quarter of a million dollars to be used in a single State during the closing hours of the last campaign. In order that this practice shall be stopped for all time, we demand the passage of a statute punishing by imprisonment any officer of a corporation who shall either contribute on behalf of or consent to the contribution by a corporation of any money or thing of value to be used

in furthering the election of a President or Vice-President of the United States or of any member of the Congress thereof.

"We denounce the Republican party, having complete control of the Federal government, for their failure to pass the bill, introduced in the last Congress, to compel the publication of the names of contributors and the amounts contributed toward campaign funds, and point to the evidence of their insincerity when they sought by an absolutely irrelevant and impossible amendment to defeat the passage of the bill. As a further evidence of their intention to conduct their campaign in the coming contest with vast sums of money wrested from favor-seeking corporations, we call attention to the fact that the recent Republican national convention at Chicago refused, when the issue was presented to it, to declare against such practices.

"We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law prohibiting any corporation from contributing to a campaign fund and any individual from contributing an amount above a reasonable maximum, and providing for the publication before election of all such contributions.

"The Rights of the States.—Believing, with Jefferson, in 'the support of the State governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies,' and in 'the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad,' we are opposed to the centralization implied in the suggestion, now frequently made, that the powers of the general government should be extended by judicial construction. There is no twilight zone between the nation and the State in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both; and it is as necessary that the Federal government shall exercise the powers delegated to it as it is that the State governments shall use the authority reserved to them; but we insist that Federal remedies for the regulation of interstate commerce and for the prevention of private monopoly shall be added to, not substituted for, State remedies.

"Tariff.—We welcome the belated promise of tariff reform now offered by the Republican party in tardy recognition of the righteousness of the Democratic position on this question; but the people can-

not safely entrust the execution of this important work to a party which is so deeply obligated to the highly protected interests as is the Republican party. We call attention to the significant fact that the promised relief is postponed until after the coming election—an election to succeed in which the Republican party must have that same support from the beneficiaries of the high protective tariff as it has always heretofore received from them; and to the further fact that during years of uninterrupted power no action whatever has been taken by the Republican Congress to correct the admittedly existing tariff iniquities.

“We favor immediate revision of the tariff by the reduction of import duties. Articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products should be placed upon the free list, and material reductions should be made in the tariff upon the necessities of life, especially upon articles competing with such American manufactures as are sold abroad more cheaply than at home; and gradual reductions should be made in such other schedules as may be necessary to restore the tariff to a revenue basis.

“Existing duties have given to the manufacturers of paper a shelter behind which they have organized combinations to raise the price of pulp and of paper, thus imposing a tax upon the spread of knowledge. We demand the immediate repeal of the tariff on wood pulp, print paper, lumber, timber, and logs, and that these articles be placed upon the free list.

“*Trusts.*—A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We therefore favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal law against guilty trust magnates and officials, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States. Among the additional remedies we specify three: First, a law preventing a duplication of directors among competing corporations; Second, a license system which will, without abridging the right of each State to create corporations, or its right to regulate as it will foreign corporations doing business within its limits, make it necessary for a manufacturing or trading corporation engaged in interstate commerce to take out a Federal license before it shall be permitted to control as much as

twenty-five per cent. of the product in which it deals, the license to protect the public from watered stock and to prohibit the control by such corporation of more than fifty per cent. of the total amount of any product consumed in the United States; and Third, a law compelling such licensed corporations to sell to all purchasers in all parts of the country on the same terms, after making due allowance for cost of transportation.

"Railroad Regulation.—We assert the right of Congress to exercise complete control over interstate commerce and the right of each State to exercise like control over commerce within its borders.

"We demand such enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce commission as may be necessary to enable it to compel railroads to perform their duties as common carriers and prevent discrimination and extortion.

"We favor the efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroads engaged in interstate commerce. To this end we recommend the valuation of railroads by the Interstate Commerce commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost of production, and all elements of value that will render the valuation fair and just.

"We favor such legislation as will prohibit the railroads from engaging in business which brings them into competition with their shippers; also legislation which will assure such reduction in transportation rates as conditions will permit, care being taken to avoid reduction that would compel a reduction of wages, prevent adequate service, or do injustice to legitimate investments.

"We heartily approve the laws prohibiting the pass and the rebate, and we favor any further necessary legislation to restrain, correct, and prevent such abuses.

"We favor such legislation as will increase the power of the Interstate Commerce commission, giving to it the initiative with reference to rates and transportation charges put into effect by the railroad companies, and permitting the Interstate Commerce commission, on its own initiative, to declare a rate illegal and as being more than should be charged for such service. The present law relating thereto is inadequate by reason of the fact that the Interstate Commerce com-

mission is without power to fix or investigate a rate until complaint has been made to it by the shipper.

"We further declare in favor of a law providing that all agreements of traffic or other associations of railway agents affecting interstate rates, service, or classification shall be unlawful unless filed with and approved by the Interstate Commerce commission.

"We favor the enactment of a law giving to the Interstate Commerce commission the power to inspect proposed railroad tariff rates or schedules before they shall take effect, and, if they be found to be unreasonable, to initiate an adjustment thereof.

"*Banking.*—The panic of 1907, coming without any legitimate excuse, when the Republican party had for a decade been in complete control of the Federal government, furnished additional proof that it is either unwilling or incompetent to protect the interests of the general public. It has so linked the country to Wall Street that the sins of the speculators are visited upon the whole people. While refusing to rescue the wealth producers from spoliation at the hands of the stock gamblers and speculators in farm products, it has deposited treasury funds, without interest and without competition, in favorite banks. It has used an emergency for which it is largely responsible to force through Congress a bill changing the basis of bank currency and inviting market manipulation, and has failed to give to the fifteen million depositors of the country protection in their savings.

"We believe that in so far as the needs of commerce require an emergency currency, such currency should be issued and controlled by the Federal government and loaned on adequate security to National and State banks. We pledge ourselves to legislation under which the National banks shall be required to establish a guarantee fund for the prompt payment of the depositors of any insolvent National bank, under an equitable system which shall be available to all State banking institutions wishing to use it.

"We favor a postal savings bank if the guaranteed bank cannot be secured, and that it be constituted so as to keep the deposited money in the communities where it is established. But we condemn the policy of the Republican party in providing postal savings banks under a plan of conduct by which they will aggregate the deposits of the

rural communities and redeposit the same while under government charge in the banks of Wall Street, thus depleting the circulating medium of the producing regions and unjustly favoring the speculative markets.

"Income Tax.—We favor an income tax as part of our revenue system, and we urge the submission of a constitutional amendment specifically authorizing Congress to levy and collect a tax upon individual and corporate incomes, to the end that wealth may bear its proportionate share of the burdens of the Federal government.

"Labor and Injunctions.—The courts of justice are the bulwark of our liberties, and we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their dignity. Our party has given to the bench a long line of distinguished Judges, who have added to the respect and confidence in which this department must be jealously maintained. We resent the attempt of the Republican party to raise a false issue respecting the judiciary. It is an unjust reflection upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the courts.

"It is the function of the courts to interpret the laws which the people create, and if the laws appear to work economic, social, or political injustice it is our duty to change them. The only basis upon which the integrity of our courts can stand is that of unswerving justice and protection of life, personal liberty, and property. If judicial processes may be abused, we should guard them against abuse.

"Experience has proved the necessity of a modification of the present law relating to injunctions, and we reiterate the pledge of our national platforms of 1896 and 1904 in favor of the measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, but which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact, relating to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

"Questions of judicial practice have arisen especially in connection with industrial disputes. We deem that the parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality, and that injunctions should not be issued in any cases in which injunctions would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved.

"The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgment of the right of wage-earners and pro-

ducers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions, to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

"We favor the eight-hour day on all government work.

"We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law by Congress, as far as the Federal jurisdiction extends, for a general Employers' Liability act covering injury to body or loss of life of employes.

"We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law creating a Department of Labor represented separately in the President's cabinet, in which department shall be included the subject of mines and mining.

"*Merchant Marine.*—We believe in the upbuilding of the American merchant marine without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury.

"*The Navy.*—The constitutional provision that a navy shall be provided and maintained means an adequate navy, and we believe that **the interest of this country would be best served by having a navy sufficient to defend the coasts of this country and protect American citizens wherever their rights may be in jeopardy.**

"*Protection of American Citizens.*—We pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad, and to use all proper methods to secure for them, whether native-born or naturalized, and without distinction of race or creed, the equal protection of the law and the enjoyment of all rights and privileges open to them under our treaties; and if, under existing treaties, the right of travel and sojourn is denied to American citizens, or recognition is withheld from American passports by any countries on the ground of race or creed, we favor prompt negotiations with the governments of such countries to secure the removal of these unjust discriminations.

"We demand that all over the world a duly authenticated passport issued by the government of the United States to an American citizen, shall be proof of the fact that he is an American citizen and shall entitle him to the treatment due him as such.

"Civil Service.—The laws pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced, to the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion rather than services rendered to a political party.

"Pensions.—We favor a generous pension policy, both as a matter of justice to the surviving veterans and their dependents and because it tends to relieve the country of the necessity of maintaining a large standing army.

"Health Bureau.—We advocate the organization of all existing national public health agencies into a national Bureau of Public Health with such power over sanitary conditions connected with factories, mines, tenements, child labor, and other such subjects as are properly within the jurisdiction of the Federal government and do not interfere with the power of the States controlling public health agencies.

"Agricultural and Mechanical Education.—The Democratic party favors the extension of agricultural, mechanical, and industrial education. We therefore favor the establishment of district agricultural experiment stations and secondary agricultural and mechanical colleges in the several States.

"Popular Election of Senators.—We favor the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and regard this reform as the gateway to other national reforms.

"Oklahoma.—We welcome Oklahoma to the sisterhood of States and heartily congratulate her upon the auspicious beginning of a great career.

"Panama Canal.—We believe that the Panama canal will prove of great value to our country, and favor its speedy completion.

"Arizona and New Mexico.—The national Democratic party has for the last sixteen years labored for the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as separate States of the Federal Union, and recognizing that each possesses every qualification successfully to maintain separate State governments we favor the immediate admission of these Territories as separate States.

"Grazing Lands.—The establishment of rules and regulations, if any such are necessary, in relation to free grazing upon the public

lands outside of forest or other reservations, until the same shall eventually be disposed of, should be left to the people of the States respectively in which such lands may be situated.

"Waterways.—Water furnishes the cheaper means of transportation, and the national government, having the control of navigable waters, should improve them to their fullest capacity. We earnestly favor the immediate adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for improving every water course in the Union which is justified by the needs of commerce; and to secure that end we favor, when practicable, the connection of the Great Lakes with the navigable rivers and with the Gulf through the Mississippi River, and the navigable rivers with each other, and the rivers, bays, and sounds of our coasts with each other by artificial canals, with a view to perfecting a system of inland waterways to be navigated by vessels of standard draught.

"We favor the coördination of the various services of the government connected with waterways in one service, for the purpose of aiding in the completion of such a system of inland waterways; and we favor the creation of a fund ample for continuous work, which shall be conducted under the direction of a commission of experts to be authorized by law.

"Post Roads.—We favor Federal aid to States and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

"Telegraph and Telephone.—We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law to regulate, under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce commission, the rates and services of telegraph and telephone companies engaged in the transmission of messages between the States.

"Natural Resources.—We repeat the demand for internal development and for the conservation of our natural resources contained in previous platforms, the enforcement of which Mr. Roosevelt has vainly sought from a reluctant party; and to that end we insist upon the preservation, protection, and replacement of needed forests, the preservation of the public domain for homeseekers, the protection of the national resources in timber, coal, iron, and oil against monopolistic control, the development of our waterways for navigation and every other useful purpose, including the irrigation of arid lands, the

reclamation of swamp lands, the clarification of streams, the development of water-power, and the preservation of electric power generated by this natural force, from the control of monopoly; and to such end we urge the exercise of all powers, national, State, and municipal, both separately and in coöperation.

"We insist upon a policy of administration of our forest reserves which shall relieve it of the abuses which have arisen thereunder, and which shall, as far as practicable, conform to the police regulations of the several States wherein the reserves are located, which shall enable homesteaders as of right to occupy and acquire title to all portions thereof which are especially adapted to agriculture, and which shall furnish a system of timber sale available as well to the private citizen as to the larger manufacturer and consumer.

"Hawaii.—We favor the application of the principles of the land laws of the United States to our newly acquired Territory, Hawaii, to the end that the public lands of that Territory may be held and utilized for the benefit of bona fide homesteaders.

"The Philippines.—We condemn the experiment in imperialism as **an inexcusable blunder which has involved us in enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of abandoning a fundamental doctrine of self-government.** We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands, as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us as we guarantee the independence of Cuba, until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

"Alaska and Porto Rico.—We demand for the people of Alaska and Porto Rico the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of a Territorial form of government, and that the officials appointed to administer the government of all our Territories and the District of Columbia should be thoroughly qualified by previous bona fide residence.

"Pan-American Relations.—The Democratic party recognizes the

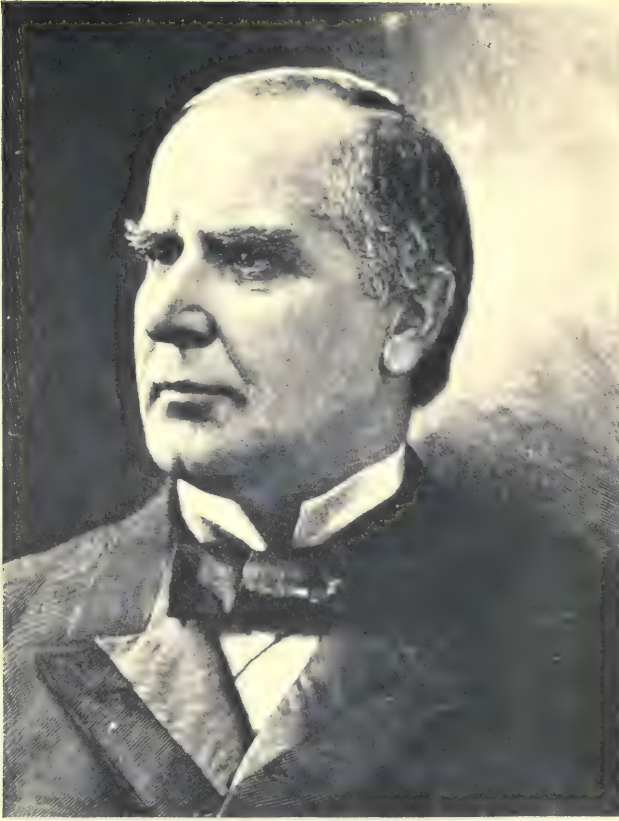
importance and advantage of developing closer ties of Pan-American friendship and commerce between the United States and her sister nations of Latin America, and favors the taking of such steps, consistent with Democratic policies, for better acquaintance, greater mutual confidence, and larger exchange of trade as will bring lasting benefit not only to the United States but to this group of American republics having constitutions, forms of government, ambitions, and interests akin to our own.

"Asiatic Immigration.—We favor full protection, by both national and State governments within their respective spheres, of all foreigners residing in the United States under treaty, but we are opposed to the admission of Asiatic immigrants who cannot be amalgamated with our population, or whose presence among us would raise a race issue and involve us in diplomatic controversies with Oriental powers.

"Foreign Patents.—We believe that where an American citizen holding a patent in a foreign country is compelled to manufacture under his patent within a certain time, similar restrictions should be applied in this country to the citizens or subjects of such a country.

"Conclusion.—The Democratic party stands for democracy; the Republican party has drawn to itself all that is aristocratic and plutocratic. The Democratic party is the champion of equal rights and opportunities to all; the Republican party is the party of privilege and private monopoly. The Democratic party listens to the voice of the whole people and gauges progress by the prosperity and development of the average man; the Republican party is subservient to the comparatively few who are the beneficiaries of governmental favoritism.

"We invite the coöperation of all, regardless of previous political affiliation or past differences, who desire to preserve a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and who favor such an administration of the government as will insure, as far as human wisdom can, that each citizen shall draw from society a reward commensurate with his contribution to the welfare of society."



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

William McKinley, 25th president; born at Niles, Ohio, January 29, 1843; lawyer; served in civil war; prosecuting attorney, Stark County, Ohio, 1869-71; member of congress, 1877 to 1884, 1885-1891; governor of Ohio, 1892-1896; elected president, 1896; reelected 1900; assassinated while attending the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo and died in that city on September 14, 1901.

Other Parties

Prohibition Party.—Convention held in Columbus, Ohio, July 15-16, 1908. For President, Eugene W. Chafin, of Illinois; for Vice-President, Aaron S. Watkins, of Ohio.

People's Party.—Convention held in St. Louis, April 2-3, 1908. For President, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia; for Vice-President, Samuel W. Williams, of Indiana.

Independence Party.—Convention held in Chicago, July 28-29, 1908. For President, Thomas L. Hisgen, of Massachusetts; for Vice-President, John Temple Graves, of Georgia. This organization was developed from the Independence League; it represented the views of William R. Hearst in favor of public ownership of public utilities, etc.

Socialist Party.—Convention held in Chicago, May 10-17, 1908. For President, Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana; for Vice-President, Benjamin Hanford, of New York.

Socialist Labor Party.—Convention met in New York and on July 6 nominated for President Martin R. Preston, a prisoner in the Nevada State Prison, who was serving a twenty-five years' sentence for murder.¹ He declined, and August Gillhaus, of New York, was substituted. For Vice-President, Donald Munro, of Virginia.

¹*New International Year Book*, 1908, p. 586.

The Election

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

William H. Taft and James S. Sherman, Republicans:—California, 10; Connecticut, 7; Delaware, 3; Idaho, 3; Illinois, 27; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 13; Kansas, 10; Maine, 6; Maryland, 2; Massachusetts, 16; Michigan, 14; Minnesota, 11; Missouri, 18; Montana, 3; New Hampshire, 4; New Jersey, 12; New York, 39; North Dakota, 4; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 4; Pennsylvania, 34; Rhode Island, 4; South Dakota, 4; Utah, 3; Vermont, 4; Washington, 5; West Virginia, 7; Wisconsin, 13; Wyoming, 3. Total, 321. Elected.

William J. Bryan and John W. Kern, Democrats:—Alabama, 11; Arkansas, 9; Colorado, 5; Florida, 5; Georgia, 13; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 9; Maryland, 6; Mississippi, 10; Nebraska, 8; Nevada, 3; North Carolina, 12; Oklahoma, 7; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 18; Virginia, 12. Total, 162.

Popular vote:

Taft, 7,679,006; Bryan, 6,409,106; Debs, 420,820; Chafin, 252,683; Hisgen, 83,562; Watson, 28,131; Gillhaus, 13,825.

1912

Republican Party

Convention held in Chicago, June 18-22. The great contest for the Presidential nomination between the supporters of President Taft and those of former President Roosevelt was ushered in by a disputation concerning the national committee's temporary roll of delegates and refusal on the part of the Roosevelt men to accept the committee's nomination of Elihu Root as temporary chairman of the convention. Francis E. McGovern, of Wisconsin, was proposed for the temporary chairmanship by the opposition. The roll-call resulted: Root, 558; McGovern, 501; scattering and not voting, 19. It was not until the fifth and last day that the proceedings as to contested seats were concluded. These proceedings resulted in establishing the Taft forces in full control of the permanent organization, and Mr. Root was continued in the chairmanship. Thereupon Henry J. Allen, of Kansas, read a message from Mr. Roosevelt to his supporters in the convention, in which the action taken regarding the contests was severely condemned and the following advice was given: "I hope the men elected as Roosevelt delegates will now decline to vote on any matter before the convention. I do not release any delegate from his honor-

able obligation to vote for me if he votes at all, but under the actual conditions I hope he will not vote at all."

President Taft was renominated on the first ballot. The vote was as follows: Taft, 561; Roosevelt, 107; LaFollette, 41; Albert B. Cummins, of Iowa, 17; Charles E. Hughes, of New York, 2; present and not voting, 349; absent, 6.

Vice-President Sherman also was renominated, receiving on the first ballot 595 votes to 58 for five others; not voting but present, 352; absent, 72.

Platform:

"The Republican party, assembled by its representatives in national convention, declares its unchanging faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people. We renew our allegiance to the principles of the Republican party and our devotion to the cause of republican institutions established by the fathers.

"It is appropriate that we should now recall with a sense of veneration and gratitude the name of our first great leader, who was nominated in this city, and whose lofty principles and superb devotion to his country are an inspiration to the party he honored—Abraham Lincoln. In the present state of public affairs we should be inspired by his broad statesmanship and by his tolerant spirit toward men.

"The Republican party looks back upon its record with pride and satisfaction, and forward to its new responsibilities with hope and confidence. Its achievements in government constitute the most luminous pages in our history. Our greatest national advance has been made during the years of its ascendancy in public affairs. It has been genuinely and always a party of progress; it has never been either stationary or reactionary. It has gone from the fulfillment of one great pledge to the fulfillment of another in response to the public need and to the popular will.

"We believe in our self-controlled representative democracy, which

is a government of laws, not of men, and in which order is the prerequisite of progress.

"The principles of constitutional government, which make provision for orderly and effective expression of the popular will for the protection of civil liberty and the rights of men and for the interpretation of the law by an untrammelled and independent judiciary, have proved themselves capable of sustaining the structure of a government which, after more than a century of development, embraces one hundred millions of people, scattered over a wide and diverse territory but bound by common purpose, common ideals, and common affection to the Constitution of the United States.

"Under the Constitution and the principles asserted and vitalized by it, the United States has grown to be one of the great civilized and civilizing powers of the earth. It offers a home and an opportunity to the ambitious and the industrious from other lands. Resting upon the broad basis of a people's confidence and a people's support, and managed by the people themselves, the government of the United States will meet the problems of the future as satisfactorily as it has solved those of the past.

"The Republican party is now, as always, a party of advanced and constructive statesmanship. It is prepared to go forward with the solution of those new questions which social, economic, and political development have brought into the forefront of the nation's interest. It will strive, not only in the nation but in the several States, to enact the necessary legislation to safeguard the public health; to limit effectively the labor of women and children, and to protect wage-earners engaged in dangerous occupations; to enact comprehensive and generous workmen's compensation laws in place of the present wasteful and unjust system of employers' liability, and in all possible ways to satisfy the just demand of the people for the study and solution of the complex and constantly changing problems of social welfare.

"In dealing with these questions it is important that the rights of every individual to the freest possible development of his own powers and resources and to the control of his own justly acquired property, so far as those are compatible with the rights of others, shall not be interfered with or destroyed. The social and political structure of the

United States rests upon the civil liberty of the individual; and for the protection of that liberty the people have wisely, in the national and State Constitutions, put definite limitations upon themselves and upon their governmental officers and agencies. To enforce these limitations, to secure the orderly and coherent exercise of governmental powers, and to protect the rights of even the humblest and least favored individual are the function of independent courts of justice.

"The Republican party reaffirms its intention to uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, both State and Federal, and it will ever insist that their powers to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty, and property shall be preserved inviolate. An orderly method is provided under our system of government by which the people may, when they choose, alter or amend the constitutional provisions which underlie that government. Until these constitutional provisions are so altered or amended, in orderly fashion, it is the duty of the courts to see to it that when challenged they are enforced.

"That the courts, both Federal and State, may bear the heavy burden laid upon them to the complete satisfaction of public opinion, we favor legislation to prevent long delays and the tedious and costly appeals which have so often amounted to a denial of justice in civil cases and to a failure to protect the public at large in criminal cases.

"Since the responsibility of the judiciary is so great, the standards of judicial action must be always and everywhere above suspicion and reproach. While we regard the recall of Judges as unnecessary and unwise, we favor such action as may be necessary to simplify the process by which any Judge who is found to be derelict in his duty may be removed from office.

"Together with peaceful and orderly development at home, the Republican party earnestly favors all measures for the establishment and protection of the peace of the world and for the development of closer relations between the various nations of the earth. It believes most earnestly in the peaceful settlement of international disputes and in the reference of all justiciable controversies between nations to an international court of justice.

"Monopoly and Privilege.—The Republican party is opposed to special privilege and to monopoly. It placed upon the statute-book

the Interstate Commerce act of 1887 and the important amendments thereto, and the Anti-Trust act of 1890, and it has consistently and successfully enforced the provisions of these laws. It will take no backward step to permit the reestablishment in any degree of conditions which were intolerable.

"Experience makes it plain that the business of the country may be carried on without fear or without disturbance, and at the same time without resort to practices which are abhorrent to the common sense of justice. The Republican party favors the enactment of legislation supplementary to the existing Anti-Trust act which will define as criminal offenses those specific acts that uniformly mark attempts to restrain and to monopolize trade, to the end that those who honestly intend to obey the law may have a guide for their action and that those who aim to violate the law may the more surely be punished.

"The same certainty should be given to the law prohibiting combinations and monopolies that characterizes other provisions of commercial law, in order that no part of the field of business opportunity may be restricted by monopoly or combination, that business success honorably achieved may not be converted into crime, and that the right of every man to acquire commodities, and particularly the necessities of life, in an open market, uninfluenced by the manipulation of trust or combination, may be preserved.

"Federal Trade Commission.—In the enforcement and administration of Federal laws governing interstate commerce and enterprises impressed with a public use engaged therein, there is much that may be committed to a Federal Trade commission, thus placing in the hands of an administrative board many of the functions now necessarily exercised by the courts. This will promote promptness in the administration of the law and avoid delays and technicalities incident to court procedure.

"The Tariff.—We reaffirm our belief in a protective tariff. The Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the country, developing our resources, diversifying our industries, and protecting our workmen against competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage-earners the American standard of living. The protective tariff is so woven into the fabric of our indus-

trial and agricultural life that to substitute for it a tariff for revenue only would destroy many industries and throw millions of our people out of employment. The products of the farm and of the mine should receive the same measure of protection as other products of American labor.

"We hold that the import duties should be high enough, while yielding a sufficient revenue, to protect adequately American industries and wages. Some of the existing import duties are too high and should be reduced. Readjustment should be made from time to time to conform to changing conditions and to reduce excessive rates, but without injury to any American industry. To accomplish this correct information is indispensable. This information can best be obtained by an expert commission, as the large volume of useful facts contained in the recent reports of the Tariff board has demonstrated. The pronounced feature of modern industrial life is its enormous diversification. To apply tariff rates justly to these changing conditions requires closer study and more scientific methods than ever before. The Republican party has shown by its creation of a Tariff board its recognition of this situation and its determination to be equal to it. We condemn the Democratic party for its failure either to provide funds for the continuance of this board or to make some other provision for securing the information requisite for intelligent tariff legislation. We protest against the Democratic method of legislating on these vitally important subjects without careful investigation.

"We condemn the Democratic tariff bills passed by the House of Representatives of the Sixty-second Congress as sectional, as injurious to the public credit, and as destructive of business enterprise.

"Cost of Living.—The steadily increasing cost of living has become a matter not only of national but of world-wide concern. The fact that it is not due to the protective tariff system is evidenced by the existence of similar conditions in countries which have a tariff policy different from our own, as well as by the fact that the cost of living has increased while rates of duty have remained stationary or been reduced. The Republican party will support a prompt scientific inquiry into the causes which are operative, both in the United States and elsewhere, to increase the cost of living. When the exact facts

are known, it will take the necessary steps to remove any abuses that may be found to exist in order that the cost of the food, clothing, and shelter of the people may in no way be unduly or artificially increased.

"Banking and Currency.—The Republican party has always stood for a sound currency and for safe banking methods. It is responsible for the resumption of specie payments, and for the establishment of the gold standard. It is committed to the progressive development of our banking and currency system. Our banking arrangements to-day need further revision to meet the requirements of current conditions. We need measures which will prevent the recurrence of money panics and financial disturbances and which will promote the prosperity of business and the welfare of labor by producing constant employment. We need better currency facilities for the movement of crops in the west and south. We need banking arrangements under American auspices for the encouragement and better conduct of our foreign trade. In attaining these ends, the independence of individual banks, whether organized under national or State charters, must be carefully protected and our banking and currency system must be safeguarded from any possibility of domination by sectional, financial, or political interests.

"It is of great importance to the social and economic welfare of this country that its farmers have facilities for borrowing easily and cheaply the money they need to increase the productivity of their land. It is as important that financial machinery be provided to supply the demand of farmers for credit as it is that the banking and currency systems be reformed in the interests of general business. Therefore we recommend and urge an authoritative investigation of agricultural credit societies and corporations in other countries, and the passage of State and Federal laws for the establishment and capable supervision of organizations having for their purpose the loaning of funds to farmers.

"The Civil Service.—We reaffirm our adherence to the principle of appointment to public office based on proved fitness, and tenure during good behavior and efficiency. The Republican party stands committed to the maintenance, extension, and enforcement of the Civil Service law, and it favors the passage of legislation empowering the President

to extend the competitive service so far as practicable. We favor legislation to make possible the equitable retirement of disabled and superannuated members of the civil service, in order that a higher order of efficiency may be maintained.

"We favor the amendment of the Federal Employers' Liability law so as to extend its provision to all government employes, as well as to provide a more liberal scale of compensation for injury and death.

"Campaign Contributions—We favor such additional legislation as may be necessary more effectually to prohibit corporations from contributing funds, directly or indirectly, to campaigns for the nomination or election of the President, the Vice-President, Senators, and Representatives in Congress. We heartily approve the recent act of Congress requiring the fullest publicity in regard to all campaign contributions, whether made in connection with primaries, conventions, or elections.

"Conservation Policy.—We rejoice in the success of the distinctive Republican policy of the conservation of our national resources, for their use by the people without waste and without monopoly. We pledge ourselves to a continuance of such a policy.

"We favor such fair and reasonable rules and regulations as will not discourage or interfere with actual bona fide homeseekers, prospectors, and miners in the acquisition of public lands under existing laws.

"Parcels Post.—In the interest of the general public, and particularly of the agricultural or rural communities, we favor legislation looking to the establishment, under proper regulations, of a parcels post, the postal rates to be graduated under a zone system in proportion to the length of carriage.

"Protection of American Citizens.—We approve the action taken by the President and the Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation, and that will prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native-born or alien, and regardless of race, religion, or previous political allegiance. The right of asylum

is a precious possession of the people of the United States, and it is to be neither surrendered nor restricted.

"The Navy.—We believe in the maintenance of an adequate navy for the national defense, and we condemn the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing to authorize the construction of additional ships.

"Merchant Marine.—We believe that one of the country's most urgent needs is a revived merchant marine. There should be American ships, and plenty of them, to make use of the great American inter-oceanic canal now nearing completion.

"Flood Prevention in the Mississippi Valley.—The Mississippi River is the nation's drainage ditch. Its flood-waters, gathered from thirty-one States and the Dominion of Canada, constitute an overpowering force which breaks the levees and pours its torrents over many million acres of the richest land in the Union, stopping mails, impeding commerce, and causing great loss of life and property. These floods are national in scope, and the disasters they produce seriously affect the general welfare. The States unaided cannot cope with this giant problem; hence, we believe the Federal government should assume a fair proportion of the burden of its control so as to prevent the disasters from recurring floods.

"Reclamation.—We favor the continuance of the policy of the government with regard to the reclamation of arid lands; and for the encouragement of the speedy settlement and improvement of such lands we favor an amendment to the law that will reasonably extend the time within which the cost of any reclamation project may be repaid by the landowners under it.

"Rivers and Harbors.—We favor a liberal and systematic policy for the improvement of our rivers and harbors. Such improvements should be made upon expert information and after a careful comparison of cost and prospective benefits.

"Alaska.—We favor a liberal policy toward Alaska, to promote the development of the great resources of that district, with such safeguards as will prevent waste and monopoly. We favor the opening of the coal lands to development through a law leasing the lands on such terms as will invite development and provide fuel for the navy

and the commerce of the Pacific Ocean, while retaining title in the United States to prevent monopoly.

"Porto Rico.—We ratify in all its parts the platform of 1908 respecting citizenship for the people of Porto Rico.

"Philippine Policy.—The Philippine policy of the Republican party has been and is inspired by the belief that our duty toward the Filipino people is a national obligation which should remain entirely free from partisan politics.

"Immigration.—We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of appropriate laws to give relief from the constantly growing evil of induced or undesirable immigration, which is inimical to the progress and welfare of the people of the United States.

"Safety at Sea.—We favor the speedy enactment of laws to provide that seamen shall not be compelled to endure involuntary servitude, and that life and property at sea shall be safeguarded by the ample equipment of vessels with life-saving appliances and with full complements of skilled, able-bodied seamen to operate them.

"Republican Accomplishment.—The approaching completion of the Panama canal, the establishment of a Bureau of Mines, the institution of postal savings banks, the increased provision made in 1912 for the aged and infirm soldiers and sailors of the republic and for their widows, and the vigorous administration of the laws relating to pure food and drugs, all mark the successful progress of Republican administration and are additional evidence of its effectiveness.

"Economy and Efficiency in Government.—We commend the earnest effort of the Republican administration to secure greater economy and increased efficiency in the conduct of government business; extravagant appropriations and the creation of unnecessary offices are an injustice to the taxpayer and a bad example to the citizen.

"Civic Duty.—We call upon the people to quicken their interest in public affairs, to condemn and punish lynchings and other forms of lawlessness, and to strengthen in all possible ways a respect for law and the observance of it. Indifferent citizenship is an evil from which the law affords no adequate protection and for which legislation can provide no remedy.

"Arizona and New Mexico.—We congratulate the people of Ari-

zona and New Mexico upon the admission of those States, thus merging in the Union in final and enduring form the last remaining portion of our continental territory.

"Republican Administration.—We challenge successful criticism of the sixteen years of Republican administration under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. We heartily reaffirm the endorsement of President McKinley contained in the platforms of 1900 and of 1904 and that of President Roosevelt contained in the platforms of 1904 and 1908.

"We invite the intelligent judgment of the American people upon the administration of William H. Taft. The country has prospered and been at peace under his Presidency. During the years in which he had the coöperation of a Republican Congress an unexampled amount of constructive legislation was framed and passed in the interest of the people and in obedience to their wish. That legislation is a record on which any administration might appeal with confidence to the favorable judgment of history.

"We appeal to the American electorate upon the record of the Republican party and upon this declaration of its principles and purposes. We are confident that under the leadership of the candidates here to be nominated our appeal will not be in vain; that the Republican party will meet every just expectation of the people whose servant it is; that under its administration and its laws our nation will continue to advance; that peace and prosperity will abide with the people, and that new glory will be added to the great republic."

The members of the committee on resolutions from Wisconsin and North Dakota submitted a minority report which embodied the ideas of Senator LaFollette; this was laid on the table without a division. The platform as above was then adopted by the following vote:—ayes, 666; nays, 53; not voting but present, 343; absent, 21.

Democratic Party

Convention held in Baltimore, June 25-July 2, 1912. For the position of temporary chairman the national committee designated Alton B. Parker. This choice was strongly opposed by William J. Bryan, who nominated John W. Kern, but Mr. Kern declined to be a candidate and advocated the election of Mr. Bryan. On roll-call Parker was chosen by 579 votes to 508 for Bryan—scattering or not voting, 7. Ollie M. James, of Kentucky, was made permanent chairman.

Forty-six ballots were required to nominate the Presidential candidate. First ballot:—Champ Clark, of Missouri, 440½; Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, 324; Judson Harmon, of Ohio, 148; Oscar W. Underwood, of Alabama, 117½; Thomas R. Marshall, of Indiana, 31; Simeon E. Baldwin, of Connecticut, 22; William Sulzer, of New York, 2; William J. Bryan, 1; not voting, 2. On the tenth ballot Clark had 556, eleven more than a majority; this proved to be his maximum vote, though for many ballots following he continued largely in the lead, Wilson meantime retaining second place and slowly gaining. The thirtieth ballot showed 460 for Wilson to 455 for Clark; and on all the subsequent ballots Wilson held the lead. Forty-sixth and last ballot:—Wilson, 990; Clark, 84; Harmon, 12; not voting, 2.

The defeat of Mr. Clark, the failure of either Mr. Harmon or Mr. Underwood to develop promising strength, and the consequent success of Mr. Wilson were greatly due to the activities of Mr. Bryan and the

growing feeling among the delegates that it would be unwise to provoke discord by the choice of a candidate unacceptable to him. At the opening of the struggle for the nomination Bryan offered a resolution, which the convention adopted (883 ayes to 201½ nays), declaring opposition to "the nomination of any candidate for President who is the representative of or under obligation to J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, or any other member of the privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class." Bryan was hostile to the New York delegation and determined to beat any aspirant having its preference. On the early ballots he voted for Clark, while New York gave its solid support of 90 votes to Harmon. But on the tenth and following ballots New York went solidly for Clark. Bryan sat silent until the fourteenth ballot was being taken, when he rose and in a vigorous speech announced that a condition had arisen in the convention that obliged him to withdraw his support from Clark. "I shall withhold my vote from Mr. Clark," he said, "as long as New York's vote is recorded for him. And the position that I take in regard to Mr. Clark I will take in regard to any other candidate whose name is now or may be before the convention." He then cast his vote for Wilson. His action did not at once produce a marked effect upon the situation, but Clark's vote began to fall off, a few at a time, while Wilson's steadily rose. New York stood unitedly by Clark until the final ballot, when it joined the stampede to Wilson. Mr. Bryan's course created very great bitterness among the friends of Mr. Clark—probably not so much, how-

ever, on account of the loss of the nomination, as because of the assumption and implications involved in the discrimination against him.

For Vice-President Thomas R. Marshall, of Indiana, was nominated on the second ballot, the vote for him being made unanimous after changes.

Platform (unanimously adopted) :

"We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, reaffirm our devotion to the principles of Democratic government formulated by Thomas Jefferson and enforced by a long and illustrious line of Democratic Presidents.

"Tariff Reform.—We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal government, under the Constitution, has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of government, honestly and economically administered.

"The high Republican tariff is the principal cause of the unequal distribution of wealth; it is a system of taxation which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer; under its operations the American farmer and laboring man are the chief sufferers; it raises the cost of the necessities of life to them, but does not protect their product or wages. The farmer sells largely in free markets and buys almost entirely in the protected markets. In the most highly protected industries, such as cotton and wool, steel and iron, the wages of the laborers are the lowest paid in any of our industries. We denounce the Republican pretense on that subject and assert that American wages are established by competitive conditions and not by the tariff.

"We favor the immediate downward revision of the existing high, and, in many cases, prohibitive tariff duties, insisting that material reductions be speedily made upon the necessities of life. Articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products and articles



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt, 26th president; born October 27, 1858, New York City; publicist; member of assembly, 1882; candidate for mayor of New York, 1886; United States civil service commissioner, 1889-95; president of New York City police board, 1895-97; assistant secretary of the navy, 1897-8; served in Spanish-American war; governor of New York, 1899-1900; vice president, March 4 to September 20, 1901, when he became president upon the death of President McKinley; elected president, 1904; defeated candidate for president on progressive ticket in 1912; died at Oyster Bay, N. Y., January 6, 1919.

of American manufacture which are sold abroad more cheaply than at home should be put upon the free list.

"We recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country, and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry.

"We denounce the action of President Taft in vetoing the bills to reduce the tariff in the cotton, woolen, metal, and chemical schedules and the Farmers' Free List bill, all of which were designed to give immediate relief to the masses from the exactions of the trusts.

"The Republican party, while promising tariff revision, has shown by its tariff legislation that such revision is not to be in the people's interest, and having been faithless to its pledges of 1908 it should no longer enjoy the confidence of the nation. We appeal to the American people to support us in our demand for a tariff for revenue only.

"High Cost of Living.—The high cost of living is a serious problem in every American home. The Republican party in its platform attempts to escape from responsibility for present conditions by denying that they are due to a protective tariff. We take issue with them on this subject and charge that excessive prices result in a large measure from the high tariff laws enacted and maintained by the Republican party and from trusts and commercial conspiracies fostered and encouraged by such laws, and we assert that no substantial relief can be secured for the people until import duties on the necessities of life are materially reduced and these criminal conspiracies broken up.

"Anti-Trust Law.—A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We therefore favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal as well as the civil law against trusts and trust officials, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States.

"We favor the declaration by law of the conditions upon which corporations shall be permitted to engage in interstate trade, including, among others, the prevention of holding companies, of interlocking directors, of stock watering, of discrimination in price, and the control by any one corporation of so large a proportion of any industry as to make it a menace to competitive conditions.

"We condemn the action of the Republican administration in compromising with the Standard Oil Company and the Tobacco Trust and its failure to invoke the criminal provisions of the Anti-Trust law against the officers of those corporations after the court had declared that, from the undisputed facts in the record, they had violated the criminal provisions of the law.

"We regret that the Sherman Anti-Trust law has received a judicial construction depriving it of much of its efficiency, and we favor the enactment of legislation which will restore to the statute the strength of which it has been deprived by such interpretation.

"Rights of the States.—We believe in the preservation and maintenance in their full strength and integrity of the three coördinate branches of the Federal government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial,—each keeping with its own bounds and not encroaching upon the just powers of either of the others.

"Believing that the most efficient results under our system of government are to be attained by the full exercise by the States of their reserved sovereign powers, we denounce as usurpation the efforts of our opponents to deprive the States of any of the rights reserved to them, and to enlarge and magnify by indirection the powers of the Federal government.

"We insist upon the full exercise of all the powers of the government, both State and national, to protect the people from injustice at the hands of those who seek to make the government a private asset in business. There is no twilight zone between the nation and the State in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both. It is as necessary that the Federal government shall exercise the powers delegated to it as it is that the States shall exercise the powers reserved to them, but we insist that Federal remedies for the regulation of interstate commerce and for the prevention of private monopoly shall be added to, and not substituted for, State remedies.

"Income Tax and Popular Election of Senators.—We congratulate the country upon the triumph of two important reforms demanded in the last national platform, namely, the amendment of the Federal Constitution authorizing an income tax and the amendment providing for the popular election of Senators, and we call upon the people of

all the States to rally to the support of the pending propositions and secure their ratification.

"Publicity of Campaign Contributions.—We note with gratification the unanimous sentiment in favor of publicity before the election of campaign contributions—a measure demanded in our national platform of 1908 and at that time opposed by the Republican party,—and we commend the Democratic House of Representatives for extending the doctrine of publicity to recommendations, verbal and written, upon which Presidential appointments are made, to the ownership and control of newspapers, and to the expenditures made by and in behalf of those who aspire to Presidential nominations, and we point for additional justification for this legislation to the enormous expenditures of money in behalf of the President and his predecessor in the recent contest for the Republican nomination for President.

"Presidential Primaries.—The movement towards more popular government should be promoted through legislation, in each State, which will permit the expression of the preference of the electors for national candidates at Presidential primaries.

"We direct that the national committee incorporate in the call for the next nominating convention a requirement that all expressions of preference for Presidential candidates shall be given, and the selection of delegates and alternates made, through a primary election conducted by the party organization in each State where such expression and election are not provided for by State law. Committeemen who are hereafter to constitute the membership of the Democratic national committee, and whose election is not provided for by law, shall be chosen in each State at such primary elections, and the service and authority of committeemen, however chosen, shall begin immediately upon the receipt of their credentials respectively.

"Campaign Contributions.—We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law prohibiting any corporation from contributing to a campaign fund and any individual from contributing any amount above a reasonable maximum.

"Term of President.—We favor a single Presidential term, and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution

making the President of the United States ineligible to reelection, and we pledge the candidate of this convention to this principle.

"Democratic Congress.—At this time, when the Republican party, after a generation of unlimited power in its control of the Federal government, is rent into factions, it is opportune to point to the record of the accomplishment of the Democratic House of Representatives in the Sixty-second Congress. We endorse its action and we challenge comparison of its record with that of any Congress which has been controlled by our opponents.

"We call the attention of the patriotic citizens of our country to its record of efficiency, economy, and constructive legislation.

"It has, among other achievements, revised the rules of the House of Representatives so as to give to the representatives of the American people freedom of speech and of action in advocating, proposing, and perfecting remedial legislation. It has passed bills for the relief of the people and the development of our country; it has endeavored to revise the tariff taxes downward in the interest of the consuming masses and thus to reduce the high cost of living; it has proposed an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people; it has secured the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as two sovereign States; it has required the publicity of campaign expenses, both before and after election, and fixed a limit upon the election expenses of United States Senators and Representatives.

"It has passed a bill to prevent the abuse of the writ of injunction; it has passed a law establishing an eight-hour day for workmen on all national public work; it has passed a resolution which forced the President to take immediate steps to abrogate the Russian treaty; and it has passed the great supply bills which lessen waste and extravagance and which reduce the annual expenses of the government by many millions of dollars.

"We approve the measure reported by the Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives for the creation of a Council of National Defense which will determine a definite naval program with a view to increased efficiency and economy. The party that proclaimed and has always enforced the Monroe doctrine and was

sponsor for the new navy will continue faithfully to observe the constitutional requirements to provide and maintain an adequate and well-proportioned navy sufficient to defend American policies, protect our citizens, and uphold the honor and dignity of the nation.

"Republican Extravagance.—We denounce the profligate waste of money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government, and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

"Railroads, Express Companies, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.—We favor the efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines engaged in interstate commerce. To this end we recommend the valuation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines by the Interstate Commerce commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost, the cost of reproduction, and any element of value that will render the valuation fair and just.

"We favor such legislation as will effectually prohibit the railroads, express, telegraph, and telephone companies from engaging in business which brings them into competition with the shippers or patrons; also legislation preventing the overissue of stocks and bonds by interstate railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines, and legislation which will assure such reduction in transportation rates as conditions will permit, care being taken to avoid reduction that would compel a reduction of wages, prevent adequate service, or do injustice to legitimate investments.

"Banking Legislation.—We oppose the so-called Aldrich bill, or the establishment of a central bank, and we believe the people of the country will be largely freed from panics and consequent unemployment and business depression by such a systematic revision of our banking laws as will render temporary relief in localities where such relief is needed, with protection from control or dominion by what is known as the Money Trust.

"Banks exist for the accommodation of the public, and not for the control of business. All legislation on the subject of banking and currency should have for its purpose the securing of these accommodations on terms of absolute security to the public and of complete protection from the misuse of the power that wealth gives to those who possess it.

"We condemn the present methods of depositing government funds in a few favored banks, largely situated in or controlled by Wall Street, in return for political favors, and we pledge our party to provide by law for their deposit by competitive bidding in the banking institutions of the country, national and State, without discrimination as to locality, upon approved securities and subject to call by the government.

"*Rural Credits.*—Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance. Therefore we recommend that an investigation of agricultural credit societies in foreign countries be made, so that it may be ascertained whether a system of rural credits may be devised suitable to conditions in the United States, and we also favor legislation permitting National banks to loan a reasonable proportion of their funds on real estate security.

"We recognize the value of vocational education, and urge Federal appropriations for such training, and extension teaching in agriculture in coöperation with the several States.

"*Waterways.*—We renew the declaration in our last platform relating to the conservation of our natural resources, and the development of our waterways. The present devastation of the lower Mississippi valley accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below, and the diversion, storage and control of the flood waters above, and their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands and development of water-power, instead of permitting the floods to continue, as heretofore, agents of destruction.

"We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a national problem; the preservation of the depth of its waters for the purpose of navigation, the building of levees to maintain the integrity of

its channel, and the prevention of the overflow of the land and its consequent devastation, resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service, and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the general government.

"To maintain an adequate depth of water the entire year, and thereby encourage water transportation, is a consummation worthy of legislative attention and presents an issue national in its character. It calls for prompt action on the part of Congress, and the Democratic party pledges itself to the enactment of legislation leading to that end.

"We favor the coöperation of the United States and the respective States in plans for the comprehensive treatment of all waterways, with a view of coördinating plans for channel improvement with plans for drainage of swamps and overflowed lands, and to this end we favor the appropriation by the Federal government of sufficient funds to make surveys of such lands, to develop plans for draining the same, and to supervise the work of construction.

"We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our inland waterways, with economy and efficiency, so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draught.

"*Post Roads.*—We favor national aid to State and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

"*Rights of Labor.*—We repeat our declarations of the platform of 1908, as follows:

"The courts of justice are the bulwark of our liberties, and we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their dignity. Our party has given to the bench a long line of distinguished Justices who have added to the respect and confidence in which this department must be jealously maintained. We resent the attempt of the Republican party to raise a false issue respecting the judiciary. It is an unjust reflection upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the courts.

"It is the function of the courts to interpret the laws which the people enact, and if the laws appear to work economic, social, or

political injustice it is our duty to change them. The only basis upon which the integrity of our courts can stand is that of unswerving justice and protection of life, personal liberty, and property. As judicial processes may be abused, we should guard them against abuse.

“Experience has proved the necessity of a modification of the present law relating to injunctions, and we reiterate the pledges of our platforms of 1896 and 1904 in favor of a measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896 relating to contempt in Federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

“Questions of judicial practice have arisen, especially in connection with industrial disputes. We believe that the parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality and that injunctions should not be issued in any case in which an injunction would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved.

“The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgement of the right of the wage-earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions, to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

“We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law creating a Department of Labor, represented separately in the President's cabinet, in which department shall be included the subject of mines and mining.

“We pledge the Democratic party, so far as the Federal jurisdiction extends, to an Employees' Compensation law providing adequate indemnity for injury to body or loss of life.’

“Conservation.—We believe in the conservation and the development, for the use of all the people, of the natural resources of the country. Our forests, our sources of water supply, our arable and our mineral lands, our navigable streams, and all the other material resources with which our country has been so lavishly endowed, constitute the foundation of our national wealth. Such additional legislation as may be necessary to prevent their being wasted or absorbed by special or privileged interests should be enacted, and the policy of their conservation should be rigidly adhered to.

"The public domain should be administered and disposed of with due regard to the general welfare. Reservations should be limited to the purposes which they purport to serve, and not extended to include land wholly unsuited therefor. The unnecessary withdrawal from sale and settlement of enormous tracts of public land, upon which tree growth never existed and cannot be promoted, tends only to retard development, create discontent, and bring reproach upon the policy of conservation.

"The public land laws should be administered in a spirit of the broadest liberality towards the settler exhibiting a bona fide purpose to comply therewith, to the end that the invitation of this government to the landless should be as attractive as possible; and the plain provisions of the Forest Reserve act permitting homestead entries to be made within the national forests should not be nullified by administrative regulations which amount to a withdrawal of great areas of the same from settlement.

"Immediate action should be taken by Congress to make available the vast and valuable coal deposits of Alaska under conditions that will be a perfect guaranty against their falling into the hands of monopolizing corporations, associations, or interests.

"We rejoice in the inheritance of mineral resources unequalled in extent, variety, or value, and in the development of a mining industry unequalled in its magnitude and importance. We honor the men who, in their hazardous toil underground, daily risk their lives in extracting and preparing for our use the products of the mines, so essential to the industries, the commerce, and the comfort of the people of this country. And we pledge ourselves to the extension of the work of the Bureau of Mines in every way appropriate for national legislation, with a view of safeguarding the lives of the miners, lessening the waste of essential resources, and promoting the economic development of mining, which, along with agriculture, must in the future, even more than in the past, serve as the very foundation of our national prosperity and welfare and our international commerce.

"*Agriculture.*—We believe in encouraging the development of a modern system of agriculture and a systematic effort to improve the

conditions of trade in farm products so as to benefit both the consumers and producers. And as an efficient means to this end we favor the enactment by Congress of legislation that will suppress the pernicious practice of gambling in agricultural products by organized exchanges or others.

"Merchant Marine.—We believe in fostering by constitutional regulation of commerce the growth of a merchant marine, which shall develop and strengthen the commercial ties which bind us to our sister republics to the south, but without imposing additional burdens upon the people and without bounties or subsidies from the public treasury.

"We urge upon Congress the speedy enactment of laws for the greater security of life and property at sea, and we favor the repeal of all laws and the abrogation of so much of our treaties with other nations as provide for the arrest and imprisonment of seamen charged with desertion or with violation of their contract of service. Such laws and treaties are un-American, and violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution of the United States.

"We favor the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama canal.

"We also favor legislation forbidding the use of the Panama canal by ships owned or controlled by railroad carriers engaged in transportation competitive with the canal.

"Pure Food and Public Health.—We reaffirm our previous declarations advocating the union and strengthening of the various governmental agencies relating to pure foods, quarantine, vital statistics, and human health. Thus united, and administered without partiality to or discrimination against any school of medicine or system of healing, they would constitute a single health service, not subordinated to any commercial or financial interests but devoted exclusively to the conservation of human life and efficiency. Moreover, this health service should coöperate with the health agencies of our various States and cities without interference with their prerogatives, or with the freedom of individuals to employ such medical or hygienic aid as they may see fit.

"Civil Service Law.—The law pertaining to the civil service should

be honestly and rigidly enforced, to the end that merit and ability should be the standard of appointment and promotion, rather than service rendered to a political party; and we favor a reorganization of the civil service with adequate compensation commensurate with the class of work performed for all officers and employees; we also favor the extension to all classes of civil service employees of the benefits of the provisions of the Employers' Liability law; we also recognize the right of direct petition to Congress by employees for the redress of grievances.

"Law Reform.—We recognize the urgent need of reform in the administration of civil and criminal law in the United States, and we recommend the enactment of such legislation and the promotion of such measures as will rid the present legal system of the delays, expense, and uncertainties incident to the system as now administered.

"The Philippines.—We reaffirm the position thrice announced by the Democracy in national convention assembled against a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines or elsewhere. We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder which has involved us in enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of self-government.

"We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines, our government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

"Arizona and New Mexico.—We welcome Arizona and New Mexico to the sisterhood of States, and heartily congratulate them upon their auspicious beginning of great and glorious careers.

"Alaska.—We demand for the people of Alaska the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of a Territorial form of government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of all our Territories and the District of Columbia should be qualified by previous bona fide residence.

"The Russian Treaty.—We commend the patriotism of the Democratic members of the Senate and House of Representatives which compelled the termination of the Russian treaty of 1832, and we pledge ourselves anew to preserve the sacred rights of American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our government which does not recognize that equality of all our citizens, **irrespective of race or creed, and which does not expressly guarantee the fundamental right of expatriation.**

"The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States government, both for himself and his property.

"Parcels Post and Rural Delivery.—We favor the establishment of a parcels post or postal express, and also the extension of the rural delivery system, as rapidly as practicable.

"Panama Canal Exposition.—We hereby express our deep interest in the great Panama Canal Exposition to be held in San Francisco in 1915, and favor such encouragement as can be properly given.

"Protection of National Uniform.—We commend to the several States the adoption of a law making it an offense for the proprietors of places of public amusement and entertainment to discriminate against the uniform of the United States, similar to the law passed by Congress applicable to the District of Columbia and the Territories in 1911.

"Pensions.—We renew the declaration of our last platform relating to a generous pension policy.

"Rule of the People.—We direct attention to the fact that the Democratic party's demand for a return to the rule of the people, expressed in the national platform four years ago, has now become the accepted doctrine of a large majority of the electors. We again remind the country that only by the larger exercise of the reserved power of the people can they protect themselves from the misuse of delegated power and the usurpation of governmental instrumentalities by special interests. For this reason the national convention insisted on the overthrow of Cannonism and the inauguration of a system by

which United States Senators could be elected by direct vote. The Democratic party offers itself to the country as an agency through which the complete overthrow and extirpation of corruption, fraud, and machine rule in American politics can be effected.

"Conclusion.—Our platform is one of principles which we believe to be essential to our national welfare. Our pledges are made to be kept when in office, as well as relied upon during the campaign, and we invite the coöperation of all citizens, regardless of party, who believe in maintaining unimpaired the institutions and traditions of our country."

Progressive Party

After the nomination of Taft by the Republican convention steps were taken by the followers of Roosevelt for the establishment of a new political organization to be known as the Progressive party. Convention held in Chicago, August 5-7, 1912. Chairman, Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana.

Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for President, and Hiram W. Johnson, of California, for Vice-President—each by unanimous vote.

Platform (unanimously adopted) :

"The conscience of the people, in a time of grave national problems, has called into being a new party, born of the nation's awakened sense of injustice.

"We of the Progressive party here dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the duty laid upon us by our fathers to maintain that government of the people, by the people, and for the people whose foundations they laid.

"We hold, with Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, that the people are the masters of their Constitution to fulfill its purposes and to safeguard it from those who, by perversion of its intent, would convert it into an instrument of injustice. In accordance with the needs of each generation the people must use their sovereign powers

to establish and maintain equal opportunity and industrial justice, to secure which this government was founded and without which no republic can endure.

"This country belongs to the people who inhabit it. Its resources, its business, its institutions, and its laws should be utilized, maintained, or altered in whatever manner will best promote the general interest. It is time to set the public welfare in the first place.

"Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people. From these great tasks both the old parties have turned aside. Instead of instruments to promote the general welfare, they have become the tools of corrupt interests which use them impartially to serve their selfish purposes. Behind the ostensible government sits enthroned an invisible government, owing no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people. To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics, is the first task of the statesmanship of the day.

"The deliberate betrayal of its trust by the Republican party, the fatal incapacity of the Democratic party to deal with the new issues of the new time, have compelled the people to forge a new instrument of government through which to give effect to their will in laws and institutions.

"Unhampered by tradition, uncorrupted by power, undismayed by the magnitude of the task, the new party offers itself as the instrument of the people to sweep away old abuses, to build a new and nobler commonwealth.

"This declaration is our covenant with the people, and we hereby bind the party and its candidates in State and nation to the pledges made herein.

"Rule of the People.—The Progressive party, committed to the principle of government by a self-controlled democracy expressing its will through representatives of the people, pledges itself to secure such alterations in the fundamental law of the several States and of the United States as shall insure the representative character of the government. In particular the party declares for direct primaries for the nomination of State and national officers, for nation-wide preferential

primaries for candidates for the Presidency, for the direct election of United States Senators by the people; and we urge on the States the policy of the short ballot, with responsibility to the people secured by the initiative, referendum, and recall.

"The Progressive party, believing that a free people should have the power from time to time to amend their fundamental law so as to adapt it progressively to the changing needs of the people, pledges itself to provide a more easy and expeditious method of amending the Federal Constitution.

"Nation and State.—Up to the limit of the Constitution, and later by amendment of the Constitution, if found necessary, we advocate bringing under effective national jurisdiction those problems which have expanded beyond reach of the individual States.

"It is as grotesque as it is intolerable that the several States should by unequal laws in matter of common concern become competing commercial agencies to barter the lives of their children, the health of their women, and the safety and well-being of their working people for the profit of their financial interests.

"The extreme insistence on States' rights by the Democratic party in the Baltimore platform demonstrates anew its inability to understand the world into which it has survived or to administer the affairs of a Union of States which have in all essential respects become one people.

"Social and Industrial Justice.—The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlightened measure of social and industrial justice. We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in State and nation for:

"Effective legislation looking to the prevention of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment, and other injurious effects incident to modern industry;

"The fixing of minimum safety and health standards for the various occupations, and the exercise of the public authority of State and nation, including the Federal control over interstate commerce and the taxing power, to maintain such standards;

"The prohibition of child labor;

"Minimum wage standards for working women, to provide a living scale in all industrial occupations;

"The prohibition of night work for women and the establishment of an eight-hour day for women and young persons;

"One day's rest in seven for all wage-workers;

"The eight-hour day in continuous twenty-four hour industries;

"The abolition of the convict contract labor system; substituting a system of prison production for governmental consumption only; and the application of prisoners' earnings to the support of their dependent families;

"Publicity as to wages, hours, and conditions of labor; full reports upon industrial accidents and diseases and the opening to public inspection of all tallies, weights, measures, and check systems on labor products;

"Standards of compensation for death by industrial accident and injury and trade diseases which will transfer the burden of lost earnings from the families of working people to the industry, and thus to the community;

"The protection of home life against the hazards of sickness, irregular employment, and old age through the adoption of a system of social insurance adapted to American use;

"The development of the creative labor power of America by lifting the last load of illiteracy from American youth and establishing continuation schools for industrial education under public control and encouraging agricultural education and demonstration in rural schools;

"The establishment of industrial research laboratories to put the methods and discoveries of science at the service of American producers.

"We favor the organization of the workers, men and women, as a means of protecting their interests and of promoting their progress.

"Regulation of Interstate Corporations.—We believe that true popular government, justice, and prosperity go hand in hand, and, so believing, it is our purpose to secure that large measure of general prosperity which is the fruit of legitimate and honest business, fostered by equal justice and by sound progressive laws.



WILLIAM H. TAFT

William H. Taft, 27th president; born at Cincinnati, Ohio, September 15, 1857; lawyer; assistant county solicitor Hamilton County, 1885-87; judge superior court of Cincinnati, 1887-90; solicitor general United States, 1890-92; circuit judge, 1892-1900; secretary of war under President Roosevelt, 1904-08; elected president, 1908; defeated for reelection by Woodrow Wilson, 1912; appointed by President Harding chief judge United States supreme court, 1921.

"We demand that the test of true prosperity shall be the benefits conferred thereby on all the citizens, not confined to individuals or classes, and that the test of corporate efficiency shall be the ability better to serve the public; that those who profit by control of business affairs shall justify that profit and that control by sharing with the public the fruits thereof.

"We therefore demand a strong national regulation of interstate corporations. The corporation is an essential part of modern business. The concentration of modern business, in some degree, is both inevitable and necessary for national and international business efficiency. But the existing concentration of vast wealth under a corporate system unguarded and uncontrolled by the nation has placed in the hands of a few men enormous, secret, irresponsible power over the daily life of the citizen—a power insufferable in a free government and certain of abuse.

"This power has been abused in monopoly of national resources, in stock watering, in unfair competition and unfair privileges, and, finally, in sinister influences on the public agencies of State and nation. We do not fear commercial power, but we insist that it shall be exercised openly under publicity, supervision, and regulation of the most efficient sort, which will preserve its good while eradicating its evils.

"To that end we urge the establishment of a strong Federal Administrative commission of high standing, which shall maintain permanent active supervision over industrial corporations engaged in interstate commerce, or such of them as are of public importance, doing for them what the government now does for the National banks, and what is now done for the railroads by the Interstate Commerce commission.

"Such a commission must enforce the complete publicity of those corporation transactions which are of public interest; must attack unfair competition, false capitalization, and special privilege, and by continuous trained watchfulness guard and keep open equally to all the highways of American commerce. Thus the business man will have certain knowledge of the law and will be able to conduct his business easily in conformity therewith, the investor will find security for his capital, dividends will be rendered more certain, and the savings of

the people will be drawn naturally and safely into the channels of trade.

"Under such a system of constructive regulation legitimate business, freed from confusion, uncertainty, and fruitless litigation, will develop normally in response to the energy and enterprise of the American business man.

"Commercial Development.—The time has come when the Federal government should coöperate with manufacturers and producers in extending our foreign commerce. To this end we demand adequate appropriations by Congress and the appointment of diplomatic and consular officers solely with a view to their special fitness and worth, and not in consideration of political expediency.

"It is imperative to the welfare of our people that we enlarge and extend our foreign commerce. We are preëminently fitted to do this because, as a people, we have developed high skill in the art of manufacturing; our business men are strong executives, strong organizers. In every way possible our Federal government should coöperate in this important matter.

"Any one who has had opportunity to study and observe first-hand Germany's course in this respect must realize that their policy of coöperation between government and business has in comparatively few years made them a leading competitor for the commerce of the world. It should be remembered that they are doing this on a national scale and with large units of business, while the Democrats would have us believe that we should do it with small units of business, which would be controlled not by the national government but by forty-nine conflicting sovereignties. Such a policy is utterly out of keeping with the progress of the times and gives our great commercial rivals in Europe—hungry for international markets—golden opportunities of which they are rapidly taking advantage.

"The Tariff.—We believe in a protective tariff which shall equalize conditions of competition between the United States and foreign countries, both for the farmer and the manufacturer, and which shall maintain for labor an adequate standard of living. Primarily the benefit of any tariff should be disclosed in the pay envelope of the laborer. We declare that no industry deserves protection which is unfair to

labor or which is operating in violation of Federal law. We believe that the presumption is always in favor of the consuming public.

"We demand tariff revision because the present tariff is unjust to the people of the United States. Fair-dealing toward the people requires an immediate downward revision of those schedules wherein duties are shown to be unjust and excessive.

"We pledge ourselves to the establishment of a non-partisan scientific Tariff commission, reporting both to the President and to either branch of Congress, which shall report first, as to the costs of production, efficiency of labor, capitalization, industrial organization and efficiency, and the general competitive position in this country and abroad of industries seeking protection from Congress; second, as to the revenue-producing power of the tariff and its relation to the resources of government; and thirdly, as to the effect of the tariff on prices, operations of middlemen, and on the purchasing power of the consumer.

"We believe that this commission should have plenary power to elicit information, and for this purpose to prescribe a uniform system of accounting for the great protected industries. The work of the commission should not prevent the immediate adoption of acts reducing those schedules generally recognized as excessive.

"We condemn the Payne-Aldrich bill as unjust to the people. The Republican organization is in the hands of those who have broken, and cannot again be trusted to keep, the promise of necessary downward revision. The Democratic party is committed to the destruction of the protective system through a tariff for revenue only—a policy which would inevitably produce widespread industrial and commercial disaster.

"We demand the immediate repeal of the Canadian Reciprocity act.

"High Cost of Living.—The high cost of living is due partly to world-wide and partly to local causes; partly to natural and partly to artificial causes. The measures proposed in this platform on various subjects, such as the tariff, the trusts, and conservation, will of themselves remove the artificial causes. There will remain other elements, such as the tendency to leave the country for the city, waste, extravagance, bad systems of taxation, poor methods of raising crops, and bad

business methods in marketing crops. To remedy these conditions requires the fullest information and, based on this information, effective government supervision and control to remove all the artificial causes. We pledge ourselves to such full and immediate inquiry and to immediate action to deal with every need such inquiry discloses.

"Improvement of the Currency.—We believe there exists imperative need for prompt legislation for the improvement of our national currency system. We believe the present method of issuing notes through private agencies is harmful and unscientific. The issue of currency is fundamentally a government function, and the system should have as basic principles soundness and elasticity. The control should be lodged with the government and should be protected from domination or manipulation by Wall Street or any special interests.

"We are opposed to the so-called Aldrich Currency bill because its provisions would place our currency and credit system in private hands, not subject to effective public control.

"Conservation of Natural Resources.—The natural resources of the nation must be promptly developed and generously used to supply the people's needs, but we cannot safely allow them to be wasted, exploited, monopolized, or controlled against the general good. We heartily favor the policy of conservation and we pledge our party to protect the national forests without hindering their legitimate use, for the benefit of all the people. Agricultural lands in the national forests are, and should remain, open to the genuine settler. Conservation will not retard legitimate development. The honest settler must receive his patent promptly without needless restrictions or delays.

"We believe that the remaining forests, coal and oil lands, water-powers, and other natural resources still in State or national control (except agricultural lands) are more likely to be wisely conserved and utilized for the general welfare if held in the public hands.

"In order that consumers and producers, managers and workmen, now and hereafter, need not pay toll to private monopolies of power and raw material, we demand that such resources shall be retained by the State or nation and opened to immediate use under laws which will encourage development and make to the people a moderate return for benefits conferred.

"In particular we pledge our party to require reasonable compensation to the public for water-power rights hereafter granted by the public. We pledge legislation to lease the public grazing lands under equitable provisions now pending which will increase the production of food for the people and thoroughly safeguard the rights of the actual homemaker. Natural resources whose conservation is necessary for the national welfare should be owned and controlled by the nation.

"Waterways.—The rivers of the United States are the natural arteries of this continent. We demand that they shall be opened to traffic as indispensable parts of a great nation-wide system of transportation in which the Panama canal will be the central link, thus enabling the whole interior of the United States to share with the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards in the benefit derived from the canal.

"It is a national obligation to develop our rivers, and especially the Mississippi and its tributaries, without delay, under a comprehensive general plan covering each river system from its source to its mouth, designed to secure its highest usefulness for navigation, irrigation, domestic supply, water-power, and the prevention of floods. We pledge our party to the immediate preparation of such a plan, which should be made and carried out in close and friendly coöperation between the nation, the States, and the cities affected.

"Under such a plan the destructive floods of the Mississippi and other streams, which represent a vast and needless loss to the nation, would be controlled by forest conservation and water storage at the headwaters and by levees below, land sufficient to support millions of people would be reclaimed from the deserts and swamps, water-power enough to transform the industrial standing of whole States would be developed, adequate water terminals would be provided, transportation would revive, and the railroads would be compelled to coöperate as freely with the boat lines as with each other.

"The equipment, organization, and experience acquired in constructing the Panama canal soon will be available for the Lakes-to-the-Gulf deep waterway and other portions of this great work, and should be utilized by the nation in coöperation with the various States at the lowest net cost to the people.

"Panama Canal.—The Panama canal, built and paid for by the American people, must be used primarily for their benefit. We demand that the canal shall be so operated as to break the transportation monopoly now held and misused by the transcontinental railroads by maintaining sea competition with them; that ships directly or indirectly owned or controlled by American railroad corporations shall not be permitted to use the canal, and that American ships engaged in coastwise trade shall pay no tolls.

"The Progressive party will favor legislation having for its aim the development of friendship and commerce between the United States and Latin-American nations.

"Alaska.—The coal and other natural resources of Alaska should be opened to development at once. They are owned by the people of the United States and are safe from monopoly, waste, or destruction only while so owned. We demand that they shall neither be sold nor given away except under the Homestead law, but while held in government ownership shall be opened to use promptly upon liberal terms requiring immediate development.

"Thus the benefit of cheap fuel will accrue to the government of the United States and to the people of Alaska and the Pacific coast, the settlement of extensive agricultural lands will be hastened, the extermination of the salmon will be prevented, and the just and wise development of Alaskan resources will take the place of private extortion or monopoly.

"We demand also that extortion or monopoly in transportation shall be prevented by the prompt acquisition, construction, or improvement by the government of such railroads, harbor, and other facilities for transportation as the welfare of the people may demand.

"We promise the people of the Territory of Alaska the same measure of local self-government that was given to other American Territories, and that Federal officials appointed there shall be qualified by previous bona fide residence in the Territory.

"Equal Suffrage.—The Progressive party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

"Corrupt Election Practices.—We pledge our party to legislation that will compel strict limitation on all campaign contributions and expenditures, and detailed publicity of both before as well as after primaries and elections.

"Publicity and Public Service.—We pledge our party to legislation compelling the registration of lobbyists; publicity of committee hearings, except on foreign affairs, and recording of all votes in committee; and forbidding Federal appointees from holding office in State or national political organizations or taking part as officers or delegates in political conventions for the nomination of elective State or national officials.

"Popular Review of Judicial Decisions.—The Progressive party demands such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy. To secure this end, it pledges itself to provide:

"First.—That when an act passed under the police power of the State is held unconstitutional under the State Constitution by the courts, the people, after an ample interval for deliberation, shall have an opportunity to vote on the question whether they desire the act to become law, notwithstanding such decision.

"Second.—That every decision of the highest appellate court of a State declaring an act of the Legislature unconstitutional on the ground of its violation of the Federal Constitution shall be subject to the same review by the Supreme Court of the United States as is now accorded to decisions sustaining such legislation.

"Administration of Justice.—The Progressive party, in order to secure to the people a better administration of justice, and by that means to bring about a more general respect for the law and the courts, pledges itself to work unceasingly for the reform of legal procedure and judicial methods.

"We believe that the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes should be prohibited when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes existed.

"We also believe that a person cited for contempt in labor disputes, except when such contempt was committed in the actual pres-

ence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere with the proper administration of justice, should have a right to trial by jury.

"A Department of Labor.—We pledge our party to establish a Department of Labor, with a seat in the cabinet and with wide jurisdiction over matters affecting the conditions of labor and living.

"Country Life.—The development and prosperity of country life are as important to the people who live in the cities as they are to the farmers. Increase of prosperity on the farm will favorably affect the cost of living and promote the interests of all who dwell in the country and all who depend upon its products for clothing, shelter, and food.

"We pledge our party to foster the development of agricultural credit and coöperation, the teaching of agriculture in schools, agricultural college extension, the use of mechanical power on the farm, and to reëstablish the Country Life commission, thus directly promoting the welfare of the farmers and bringing the benefits of better farming, better business, and better living within their reach.

"National Health Service.—We favor the union of all the existing agencies of the Federal government dealing with the public health into a single National Health Service, without discrimination against or for any one set of therapeutic methods, school of medicine, or school of healing, with such additional powers as may be necessary to enable it to perform efficiently such duties in the protection of the public from preventable diseases as may be properly undertaken by the Federal authorities, including the executing of existing laws regarding pure food, quarantine and cognate subjects, the promotion of appropriate action for the improvement of vital statistics and the extension of the registration area of such statistics, and coöperation with the health activities of the various States and cities of the nation.

"Patents.—We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a Patent law which will make it impossible for patents to be suppressed or used against the public welfare in the interests of injurious monopolies.

"Interstate Commerce Commission.—We pledge our party to secure to the Interstate Commerce commission the power to value the physi-

cal property of railroads. In order that the power of the commission to protect the people may not be impaired or destroyed, we demand the abolition of the Commerce Court.

"Good Roads.—We recognize the vital importance of good roads, and we pledge our party to foster their extension in every proper way, and we favor the early construction of National highways. We also favor the extension of the rural free-delivery service.

"Inheritance and Income Tax.—We believe in a graduated inheritance tax as a national means of equalizing the obligations of holders of property to government, and we hereby pledge our party to enact such a Federal law as will tax large inheritances, returning to the States an equitable percentage of all amounts collected. We favor the ratification of the pending amendment to the Constitution giving the government power to levy an income tax.

"Peace and National Defense.—The Progressive party deplors the survival in our civilization of the barbaric system of warfare among nations, with its enormous waste of resources even in time of peace, and the consequent impoverishment of the life of the toiling masses. We pledge the party to use its best endeavors to substitute judicial and other peaceful means of settling international differences.

"We favor an international agreement for the limitation of naval forces. Pending such an agreement, and as the best means of preserving peace, we pledge ourselves to maintain for the present the policy of building two battleships a year.

"Treaty Rights.—We pledge our party to protect the rights of American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our government which discriminates between American citizens because of birthplace, race, or religion, or that does not recognize the absolute right of expatriation.

"Immigration.—Through the establishment of industrial standards we propose to secure to the able-bodied immigrant and to his native fellow-workers a larger share of American opportunity.

"We denounce the fatal policy of indifference and neglect which has left our enormous immigrant population to become the prey of chance and cupidity. We favor governmental action to encourage the distribution of immigrants away from the congested cities, to rigidly

supervise all private agencies dealing with them, and to promote their assimilation, education, and advancement.

"Pensions.—We pledge ourselves to a wise and just policy of pensioning American soldiers and sailors and their widows and children by the Federal government.

"And we approve the policy of the southern States in granting pensions to the ex-Confederate soldiers and sailors and their widows and children.

"Parcels Post.—We pledge our party to the immediate creation of a parcels post, with rates proportionate to distance and service.

"The Civil Service Law.—We condemn the violations of the Civil Service law under the present administration, including the coercion and assessment of subordinate employes, and the President's refusal to punish such violations after a finding of guilty by his own commission; his distribution of patronage among subservient Congressmen, while withholding it from those who refuse support of administration measures; his withdrawal of nominations from the Senate until political support for himself was secured, and his open use of the offices to reward those who voted for his renomination.

"To eradicate these abuses we demand not only the enforcement of the Civil Service act in letter and spirit, but also legislation which will bring under the competitive system postmasters, collectors, marshals, and all other non-political officers, as well as the enactment of an equitable retirement law, and we also insist on continuous service during good behavior and efficiency.

"Government Business Organization.—We pledge our party to readjustment of the business methods of the national government and a proper coördination of the Federal bureaus which will increase the economy and efficiency of the government service, prevent duplications, and secure better results to the taxpayers for every dollar expended.

"Supervision Over Investments.—The people of the United States are swindled out of many millions of dollars every year through worthless investments. The plain people, the wage-earners, and the men and women with small savings have no way of knowing the merit of concerns sending out highly colored prospectuses offering stock for

sale, prospectuses that make big returns seem certain and fortunes easily within grasp.

"We hold it to be the duty of the government to protect its people from this kind of piracy. We therefore demand wise, carefully thought-out legislation that will give us such government supervision over this matter as will furnish to the people of the United States this much needed protection, and we pledge ourselves thereto.

"Conclusion.—On these principles and on the recognized desirability of uniting the progressive forces of the nation into an organization which shall unequivocally represent the Progressive spirit and policy, we appeal for the support of all American citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations."

Other Parties

Prohibition Party.—Convention held in Atlantic City, July 10-11, 1912. For President, Eugene W. Chafin, of Arizona; for Vice-President, Aaron S. Watkins, of Ohio.

People's Party (Populists).—Beginning its national career in 1892, the Populist organization at once became a powerful factor and so continued for a number of years. Its decline was due to its fusions and the wide acceptance of progressive political ideas, especially on the part of the Democracy in the western and southern States. In 1912 the People's party held a national convention at St. Louis, August 13, but made no nominations. It has not since appeared in national politics.

Socialist Party.—Convention held in Indianapolis, May 12-17, 1912. For President, Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana; for Vice-President, Emil Seidel, of Wisconsin.

Socialist Labor Party.—For President, Arthur E. Reimer, of Massachusetts; for Vice-President, August Gillhaus, of New York.

The Election

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

Woodrow Wilson and Thomas R. Marshall, Democrats:—Alabama, 12; Arizona, 3; Arkansas, 9; California, 2; Colorado, 6; Connecticut, 7; Delaware, 3; Florida, 6; Georgia, 14; Idaho, 4; Illinois, 29; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 13; Kansas, 10; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 10; Maine, 6; Maryland, 8; Massachusetts, 18; Mississippi, 10; Missouri, 18; Montana, 4; Nebraska, 8; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 4; New Jersey, 14; New Mexico, 3; New York, 45; North Carolina, 12; North Dakota, 5; Ohio, 24; Oklahoma, 10; Oregon, 5; Rhode Island, 5; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 20; Virginia, 12; West Virginia, 8; Wisconsin, 13; Wyoming, 3. Total, 435. Elected.

Theodore Roosevelt and Hiram W. Johnson, Progressives:—California, 11; Michigan, 15; Minnesota, 12; Pennsylvania, 38; South Dakota, 5; Washington, 7. Total, 88.

William H. Taft and Nicholas Murray Butler,¹ Republicans:—Utah, 4; Vermont, 4. Total, 8.

Popular vote:

Wilson, 6,286,214; Roosevelt, 4,126,020; Taft, 3,483,922; Debs, 897,011; Chafin, 208,923; Reimer, 29,079.

¹James S. Sherman, the Republican nominee for Vice-President, died on October 30, 1912, and Nicholas Murray Butler, of New York, received the Vice-Presidential votes of the Republican Electors.

1916

Democratic Party

Convention held in St. Louis, June 14-16, 1916. Temporary chairman, Martin H. Glynn, of New York; permanent chairman, Ollie M. James, of Kentucky.

President Wilson and Vice-President Marshall were renominated, both by acclamation.

Platform:

"The Democratic party, in national convention assembled, adopts the following declaration to the end that the people of the United States may both realize the achievements wrought by four years of Democratic administration and be appraised of the policies to which the party is committed for the further conduct of national affairs.

"1. *Record of Achievement.*—We endorse the administration of Woodrow Wilson. It speaks for itself. It is the best exposition of sound Democratic policy at home and abroad.

"We challenge comparison of our record, our keeping of pledges, and our constructive legislation with those of any party of any time.

"We found our country hampered by special privilege, a vicious tariff, obsolete banking laws, and an inelastic currency. Our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their selfish ends. The Republican party, despite repeated pledges, was impotent to correct abuses which it had fostered. Under our administration, under a leadership which has never faltered, these abuses have been corrected and our people have been freed therefrom.

"Our archaic banking and currency system, prolific of panic and disaster under Republican administration—long the refuge of the money trust,—has been supplanted by the Federal Reserve act, a

true democracy of credit under government control already proved a financial bulwark in a world crisis, mobilizing our resources, placing abundant credit at the disposal of legitimate industry, and making a currency panic impossible.

"We have created a Federal Trade commission to accommodate the perplexing questions arising under the Anti-Trust laws so that monopoly may be strangled at its birth and legitimate industry encouraged. Fair competition in business is now assured.

"We have effected an adjustment of the tariff, adequate for revenue under peace conditions and fair to the consumer and to the producer. We have adjusted the burdens of taxation so that swollen incomes bear their equitable share. Our revenues have been sufficient in times of world stress, and will largely exceed the expenditures for the current fiscal year.

"We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities and have secured to the workingman the right of voluntary association for his protection and welfare. We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside the presence of the court.

"We have advanced the parcel post to genuine efficiency, enlarged the postal savings system, added ten thousand rural delivery routes and extensions, thus reaching two and one-half millions additional people, improved the postal service in every branch, and for the first time in our history placed the post office system on a self-supporting basis, with actual surplus in 1913, 1914, and 1916.

"2. *Economic Freedom*.—The reforms which were most obviously needed to clear away special privilege, prevent unfair discrimination, and release the energies of men of all ranks and advantages, have been effected by recent legislation. We must now remove, as far as possible, every remaining element of unrest and uncertainty from the path of the business men of America, and secure for them a continued period of quiet, assured, and confident prosperity.

"3. *Tariff*.—We reaffirm our belief in the doctrine of a tariff for the purpose of providing sufficient revenue for the operation of

the government economically administered, and unreservedly endorse the Underwood Tariff law as truly exemplifying that doctrine. We recognize that tariff rates are necessarily subject to change to meet changing conditions in the world's protection and trade. The events of the last two years have brought about many momentous changes. In some respects their effects are yet conjectural and wait to be disclosed, particularly in regard to our foreign trade. Two years of a war which has directly involved most of the chief industrial nations of the world and which has indirectly affected the life and industry of all nations are bringing about economic changes more varied and far-reaching than the world has ever before experienced. In order to ascertain just what those changes may be, the Democratic Congress is providing for a non-partisan Tariff commission to make impartial and thorough study of every economic fact that may throw light either upon our past or upon our future fiscal policy with regard to the imposition of taxes on imports or with regard to the changed and changing conditions under which our trade is carried on. We cordially endorse this timely proposal and declare ourselves in sympathy with the principle and purpose of shaping legislation within that field in accordance with clearly established facts rather than in accordance with the demands of selfish interests or upon information provided largely, if not exclusively, by them.

"4. *Americanism*.—The part which the United States will play in the new day of international relationship that is now upon us will depend upon our preparation and our character. The Democratic party, therefore, recognizes the assertion and triumphant demonstration of the indivisibility and coherent strength of the nation as the supreme issue of this day in which the whole world faces the crisis of manifold change. It summons all men of whatever origin or creed who would count themselves Americans, to join in making clear to all the world the unity and consequent power of America. This is an issue of patriotism. To taint it with partisanship would be to defile it. In this day of test, America must show itself not a nation of partisans but a nation of patriots. There is gathered here in America the best of the blood, the industry, and the genius of the world, the elements of a great race and a magnifi-

cent society to be welded into a mighty and splendid nation. Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interest of a foreign power in disregard of our own country's welfare or to injure this government in its foreign relations or cripple or destroy its industries at home, and whoever by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious, or other nature creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and is disloyal to his country. We therefore condemn as subversive of this nation's unity and integrity, and as destructive of its welfare, the activities and designs of every group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power, whether such object is promoted by intimidating the government, a political party, or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people and that unity of sentiment and purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the nation and its free institutions. We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country, of whatever nationality or descent, who agree and conspire together for the purpose of embarrassing or weakening our government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representatives in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power. We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist, and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our own country. We condemn any political party which, in view of the activity of such conspirators, surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy.

"5. *Preparedness.*—Along with the proof of our character as a nation must go the proof of our power to play the part that legitimately belongs to us. The people of the United States love peace. They respect the rights and covet the friendship of all other nations. They desire neither any additional territory nor any advantage which cannot be peacefully gained by their skill, their industry, or their enterprise; but they insist upon having absolute freedom of national life and policy, and feel that they owe it to themselves



WOODROW WILSON

Woodrow Wilson, 28th president; born at Staunton, Va., December 28, 1856; teacher; president of Princeton university; governor of New Jersey, January 17, 1911 to March 1, 1913; elected president of United States, 1912; reëlected, 1916.

and to the role of spirited independence which it is their sole ambition to play that they should render themselves secure against the hazard of interference from any quarter, and should be able to protect their rights upon the seas or in any part of the world. We therefore favor the maintenance of an army fully adequate to the requirements of order, of safety, and of the protection of the nation's rights; the fullest development of modern methods of seacoast defense, and the maintenance of an adequate reserve of citizens trained to arms and prepared to safeguard the people and territory of the United States against any danger of hostile action which may unexpectedly arise; and a fixed policy for the continuous development of a navy, worthy to support the great naval traditions of the United States and fully equal to the international tasks which this nation hopes and expects to take a part in performing. The plans and enactments of the present Congress afford substantial proof of our purpose in this exigent matter.

"6. *International Relations*.—The Democratic administration has throughout the present war scrupulously and successfully held to the old paths of neutrality and to the peaceful pursuit of the legitimate objects of our national life which statesmen of all parties and creeds have prescribed for themselves in America since the beginning of our history. But the circumstances of the last two years have revealed necessities of international action which no former generation can have foreseen. We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and, both for this end and in the interest of humanity, to assist the world in securing settled peace and justice. We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live; that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; and that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations; and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations

of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve those principles, to maintain inviolate the complete security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all nations.

"The present administration has consistently sought to act upon and realize in its conduct of the foreign affairs of the nation the principle that should be the object of any association of the nations formed to secure the peace of the world and the maintenance of national and individual rights. It has followed the highest American traditions. It has preferred respect for the fundamental rights of smaller states even to property interests, and has secured the friendship of the people of such states for the United States by refusing to make a mere material interest an excuse for the assertion of our superior power against the dignity of their sovereign independence. It has regarded the lives of its citizens and the claims of humanity as of greater moment than material rights, and peace as the best basis for the just settlement of commercial claims. It has made the honor and ideals of the United States its standard alike in negotiation and action.

7. *Pan-American Concord*.—We recognize now, as we have always recognized, a definite and common interest between the United States and the other peoples and republics of the western hemisphere in all matters of national independence and free political development. We favor the establishment and maintenance of the closest relations of amity and mutual helpfulness between the United States and the other republics of the American continents for the support of peace and the promotion of a common prosperity. To that end we favor all measures which may be necessary to facilitate intimate intercourse and promote commerce between the United States and our neighbors to the south, and such international understandings as may be practicable and suitable to accomplish these ends.

"We commend the action of the Democratic administration in holding the Pan-American Financial conference at Washington in May, 1915, and organizing the International High commission which represented the United States in the recent meeting of representatives of the Latin-American republics at Buenos Aires, April, 1916, which

have so greatly promoted the friendly relations between the people of the western hemisphere.

"8. *Mexico*.—The Monroe doctrine is reasserted as a principle of Democratic faith. That doctrine guarantees the independent republics of the two Americas against aggression from another continent. It implies, as well, the most scrupulous regard upon our part for the sovereignty of each of them. We court their good will. We seek not to despoil them. The want of a stable, responsible government in Mexico, capable of repressing and punishing marauders and bandit bands, who have not only taken the lives and seized and destroyed the property of American citizens in that country, but have insolently invaded our soil, made war upon and murdered our people thereon, has rendered it necessary temporarily to occupy, by our armed forces, a portion of the territory of that friendly state. Until, by the restoration of law and order therein, a repetition of such incursions is improbable, the necessity for their remaining will continue. Intervention, implying as it does military subjugation, is revolting to the people of the United States, notwithstanding the provocation to that course has been great, and should be resorted to, if at all, only as a last recourse. The stubborn resistance of the President and his advisers to every demand and suggestion to enter upon it, is creditable alike to them and to the people in whose name he speaks.

"9. *Merchant Marine*.—Immediate provision should be made for the development of the carrying trade of the United States. Our foreign commerce has in the past been subject to many unnecessary and vexatious obstacles in the way of legislation of Republican Congresses. Until the recent Democratic tariff legislation, it was hampered by unreasonable burdens of taxation. Until the recent banking legislation, it had at its disposal few of the necessary instrumentalities of international credit and exchange. Until the formulation of the pending act to promote the construction of a merchant marine, it lacked even the prospect of adequate carriage by sea. We heartily endorse the purposes and policy of the pending Shipping bill and favor all such additional measures of constructive or remedial legislation as may be necessary to restore our flag to the seas and to provide further facilities for our foreign commerce, particularly such laws as may be

requisite to remove unfair conditions of competition in the dealings of American merchants and producers with competitors in foreign markets.

"10. *Conservation.*—For the safeguarding and quickening of the life of our own people we favor the conservation and development of the natural resources of the country through a policy which shall be positive rather than negative, a policy which shall not withhold such resources from development but which, while permitting and encouraging their use, shall prevent both waste and monopoly in their exploitation, and we earnestly favor the passage of acts which will accomplish these objects, reaffirming the declaration of the platform of 1912 on this subject.

"The policy of reclaiming our arid lands should be steadily adhered to.

"11. *The Administration and the Farmer.*—We favor the vigorous prosecution of investigations and plans to render agriculture more profitable and country life more healthful, comfortable, and attractive, and we believe that this should be a dominant aim of the nation as well as of the States. With all its recent improvement, farming still lags behind other occupations in development as a business, and the advantages of an advancing civilization have not accrued to rural communities in a fair proportion. Much has been accomplished in this field under the present administration,—far more than under any previous administration. In the Federal Reserve act of the last Congress and the Rural Credits act of the present Congress, the machinery has been created which will make credit available to the farmer constantly and readily, placing him at last upon a footing of equality with the merchant and the manufacturer in securing the capital necessary to carry on his enterprises. Grades and standards necessary to the intelligent and successful conduct of the business of agriculture have also been established or are in the course of being established by law. The long-needed Cotton Futures act, passed by the Sixty-third Congress, has now been in successful operation for nearly two years. A Grain Grades bill, long needed, and a Permissive Warehouse bill, intended to provide better storage facilities and to enable the farmer to obtain certificates upon which he may

secure advances of money, have been passed by the House of Representatives, have been favorably reported to the Senate, and will probably become law during the present session of the Congress. Both houses have passed a Good Roads measure which will be of far-reaching benefit to all agricultural communities. Above all, the most extraordinary and significant progress has been made, under the direction of the Department of Agriculture, in extending and **perfecting practical farm demonstration work** which is so rapidly substituting scientific for empirical farming. But it is also necessary that rural activities should be better directed through coöperation and organization, that unfair methods of competition should be eliminated, and the conditions requisite for the just, orderly, and economical marketing of farm products created. We approve the Democratic administration for having emphatically directed attention for the first time to the essential interests of agriculture involved in farm marketing and finance, for creating the Office of Markets and Rural Organization in connection with the Department of Agriculture, and for extending the coöperation machinery necessary for conveying information to farmers by means of demonstrations. We favor continued liberal provision, not only for the benefit of production, but also for the study and solution of problems of farm marketing and finance and for the extension of existing agencies for improving country life.

"12. *Good Roads.*—The happiness, comfort, and prosperity of rural life, and the development of the city, are alike conserved by the construction of public highways. We therefore favor national **aid in the construction of post roads and roads for military purposes.**

"13. *Government Employment.*—We hold that the life, health, and strength of the men, women, and children of the nation are its greatest asset, and that in the conservation of these the Federal government, wherever it acts as the employer of labor, should, both on its own account and as an example, put into effect the following principles of just employment:

"(i.) A living wage for all employes.

"(ii.) A working day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven.

"(iii.) The adoption of safety appliances and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor.

"(iv.) Adequate compensation for industrial accidents.

"(v.) The standards of the 'Uniform Child Labor law' wherever minors are employed.

"(vi.) Such provisions for decency, comfort, and health in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race.

"(vii.) An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employes of the civil service, to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

"We believe also that the adoption of similar principles should be urged and applied in the legislation of the States with regard to labor within their borders, and that through every possible agency the life and health of the people of the nation should be conserved.

"14. *Labor*.—We declare our faith in the Seamen's act, passed by the Democratic Congress, and we promise our earnest continuance of its enforcement.

"We favor the speedy enactment of an effective Federal Child Labor law, and the regulation of the shipment of prison-made goods in interstate commerce.

"We favor the creation of a Federal Bureau of Safety in the Department of Labor, to gather facts concerning industrial hazards and to recommend legislation to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings.

"We favor the extension of the powers and functions of the Federal Bureau of Mines.

"We favor the development, upon a systematic scale, of the means, already begun under the present administration, to assist laborers throughout the Union to seek and obtain employment, and the extension by the Federal government of the same assistance and encouragement as is now given to agricultural training.

"We heartily commend our newly established Department of

Labor for its fine record in settling strikes by personal advice and through conciliating agents.

"15. *Public Health*.—We favor a thorough reconsideration of the means and methods by which the Federal government handles questions of public health, to the end that human life may be conserved by elimination of loathsome diseases, the improvement of sanitation, and the diffusion of a knowledge of disease prevention.

"We favor the establishment by the Federal government of tuberculosis sanitariums for needy tubercular patients.

"16. *Senate Rules*.—We favor such alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the nation's legislative business.

"17. *Economy and the Budget*.—We demand careful economy in all expenditures for the support of the government, and to that end favor a return by the House of Representatives to its former practice of initiating and preparing all Appropriation bills through a single committee chosen from its membership, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication in the public service as much as possible avoided. We favor this as a practicable first step toward a budget system.

"18. *Civil Service*.—We reaffirm our declarations for the rigid enforcement of the Civil Service laws.

"19. *Philippine Islands*.—We heartily endorse the provisions of the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives further promoting self-government in the Philippine Islands, as being in fulfillment of the policy declared by the Democratic party in its last national platform, and we reiterate our endorsement of the purpose of ultimate independence for the Philippine Islands, expressed in the preamble of that measure.

"20. *Woman Suffrage*.—We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

"21. *Protection of Citizens*.—We again declare the policy that the sacred rights of American citizenship must be preserved at home and abroad, and that no treaty shall receive the sanction of our

government which does not expressly recognize the absolute equality of all our citizens irrespective of race, creed, or previous nationality, and which does not recognize the right of expatriation. The American government should protect American citizens in their rights not only at home but abroad, and any country having a government should be held to strict accountability for any wrongs done them, either to person or to property. At the earliest practical opportunity our country should strive earnestly for peace among the warring nations of Europe and seek to bring about the adoption of the fundamental principle of justice and humanity, that all men shall enjoy equality of right and freedom from discrimination in the lands wherein they dwell.

"22. *Prison Reform*.—We demand that the modern principles of prison reform be applied in our Federal penal system. We favor such work for prisoners as shall give them training in remunerative occupations so that they may make an honest living when released from prison; the setting apart of the net wages of the prisoner to be paid to his dependent family or to be reserved for his own use upon his release; the liberal extension of the principles of the Federal Parole law, with due regard both to the welfare of the prisoner and the interests of society; the adoption of the probation system, especially in the case of first offenders not convicted for serious crime.

"23. *Pensions*.—We renew the declarations of recent Democratic platforms relating to generous pensions for soldiers and their widows, and call attention to our record of performance in this particular.

"24. *Waterways and Flood Control*.—We renew the declaration in our last two platforms relating to the development of our waterways. The recent devastation of the lower Mississippi valley and several other sections by floods accentuates the movement for the regulation of river-flow by additional bank and levee protection below, and diversion, storage, and control of the flood waters above, and their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands and development of water-power, instead of permitting the floods to continue as heretofore agents of destruction. We hold that the control of the Mississippi River

is a national problem. The preservation of the depth of its waters for purposes of navigation, the building of levees and works of bank protection to maintain the integrity of its channel and prevent the overflow of its valley resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service, and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the national government.

"We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our harbors and inland waterways, with economy and efficiency, so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.

"25. *Alaska*.—It has been and will be the policy of the Democratic party to enact all laws necessary for the speedy development of Alaska and its great natural resources.

"26. *Territories*.—We favor granting to the people of Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico the traditional Territorial government accorded to all Territories of the United States since the beginning of our government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of these several Territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence.

"27. *Candidates*.—We unreservedly endorse our President and Vice-President, Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, and Thomas Riley Marshall, of Indiana, who have performed the functions of their great offices faithfully and impartially and with distinguished ability.

"In particular, we commend to the American people the splendid diplomatic victories of our great President, who has preserved the vital interests of our government and its citizens and kept us out of war.

"Woodrow Wilson stands to-day the greatest American of his generation.

"28. *Conclusion*.—This is a critical hour in the history of America, a critical hour in the history of the world. Upon the **record above set forth, which shows great constructive achievement** in following out a consistent policy for our domestic and internal development; upon the record of the Democratic administration, which has maintained the honor, the dignity, and the interests of

the United States, and at the same time retained the respect and friendship of all the nations of the world; and upon the great policies for the future strengthening of the life of our country, the enlargement of our national vision, and the ennobling of our international relations, as set forth above, we appeal with confidence to the voters of the country."

The twentieth resolution, expressing favor for the cause of woman suffrage, was objected to by a minority of the committee on resolutions composed of the members from Georgia, New Jersey, Indiana, and Texas, who offered a substitute plank in which no mention of the subject of woman suffrage was made and it was declared that the States alone had power to prescribe the qualifications of voters. The substitute was defeated by 181½ ayes to 888½ nays (not voting, 22), and the platform as reported was then adopted.

Republican Party

Convention held in Chicago, June 7-10, 1916. Temporary and permanent chairman, Warren G. Harding, of Ohio. Overtures were received from the convention of the Progressive party, which at the same time was in session in Chicago, and a committee of conference was appointed.

Three ballots were taken for President. First ballot:—Charles E. Hughes, 253½; John W. Weeks, of Massachusetts, 105; Elihu Root, 103; Albert B. Cummins, of Iowa, 85; Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, 77½; Charles W. Fairbanks, 74½; Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Illinois, 66; Theodore Roosevelt, 65; Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania, 36; Henry Ford, of Michigan,

32; Martin G. Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania, 29; Robert M. LaFollette, 25; William H. Taft, 14; Coleman du Pont, of Delaware, 12; Frank B. Willis, of Ohio, 4; William E. Borah, of Idaho, 2; Samuel W. McCall, of Massachusetts, 1; absent, $2\frac{1}{2}$. The second ballot, taken immediately, showed $328\frac{1}{2}$ for Hughes, while no one of the other candidates had as high as 100 votes. The convention then adjourned until the next day, June 10.

During the recess the nomination of Hughes was decided on by the leading men of the convention. Meantime the conferees of the Republican and Progressive conventions had met; the Progressives uncompromisingly demanded the choice of Roosevelt, but the Republican party was in no mood to accept him. After the agreement of the Republican leaders on Hughes, the Republican conferees sent a communication to the Progressives recommending Hughes. This communication was read to the Republican convention upon its reassembling on the morning of June 10, together with a message from Roosevelt (addressed to the Progressive conferees) in which the nomination of Henry Cabot Lodge, as a compromise candidate, was proposed. Mr. Roosevelt's suggestion, however, did not find favor. The names of Weeks, Sherman, Burton, Fairbanks, and Root were withdrawn, and Hughes was nominated on the third ballot by the following vote:—Hughes, $949\frac{1}{2}$; Roosevelt, $18\frac{1}{2}$; Lodge, 7; du Pont, 5; LaFollette, 3; Weeks, 3; absent, 1.

Former Vice-President Charles W. Fairbanks was

nominated for the Vice-Presidency on the first ballot, having 863 votes to 120 for five others; not voting, 4.

Platform:

"In 1861 the Republican party stood for the Union. As it stood for the Union of States, it now stands for a united people true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the government, and to the flag of the United States.

"We believe in American policies at home and abroad.

"Protection of American Rights.—We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the rights secured to him by the Constitution, by treaties, and the laws of nations, at home and abroad, by land and sea. These rights, which, in violation of the specific promise of their party made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain.

"Foreign Relations.—We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a strict and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality, as well as the dignity and influence of the United States, cannot be preserved by shifty expedients, by phrase-making, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters. The present administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican Presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way, to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations.

"We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes, and favor the establishment of a world court for the purpose.

"Mexico.—We deeply sympathize with the fifteen million people of Mexico who for three years have seen their country devastated,

their homes destroyed, their fellow-citizens murdered, and their women outraged by armed bands of desperadoes led by self-seeking conscienceless agitators who when temporarily successful in any locality have neither sought nor been able to restore order or establish and maintain peace.

"We express our horror and indignation at the outrages which have been and are being perpetrated by these bandits upon American men and women who were or are in Mexico by invitation of the laws and of the government of that country and whose rights to security of person and property are guaranteed by solemn treaty obligations. We denounce the indefensible methods of interference employed by this administration in the internal affairs of Mexico and refer with shame to its failure to discharge the duty of this country as next friend to Mexico, its duty to other powers who have relied upon us as such friend, and its duty to our citizens in Mexico, in permitting the continuance of such conditions, first by failure to act promptly and firmly, and second by lending its influence to the continuation of such conditions through recognition of one of the factions responsible for these outrages.

"We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico. We promise to our citizens on and near our border, and to those in Mexico, wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty, and property.

"*Monroe Doctrine.*—We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety and to the achievement of its manifest destiny.

"*Latin America.*—We favor the continuance of Republican policies which will result in drawing more and more closely the commercial, financial, and social relations between this country and the countries of Latin America.

"*Philippines.*—We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugurated by McKinley, approved by Congress, and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft. Even in this short time it has enormously improved the material and social conditions of the islands, given the Philippine people a constantly increasing participation in

their government, and, if persisted in, will bring still greater benefits in the future.

"We accepted the responsibility of the islands as a duty to civilization and the Filipino people. To leave with our task half done would break our pledge, injure our prestige among nations, and imperil what has already been accomplished.

"We condemn the Democratic administration for its attempt to abandon the Philippines, which was prevented only by the vigorous opposition of Republican members of Congress, aided by a few patriotic Democrats.

"Right of Expatriation.—We reiterate the unqualified approval of the action taken in December, 1911, by the President and Congress, to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native-born or alien, and regardless of race, religion, or previous political allegiance. We renew the pledge to observe this principle and to maintain the right of asylum, which is neither to be surrendered nor restricted, and we unite in the cherished hope that the war which is now desolating the world may speedily end, with a complete and lasting restoration of brotherhood among the nations of the earth and the assurance of full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land.

"Protection of the Country.—In order to maintain our peace and make certain the security of our people within our own borders the country must have not only adequate but thorough and complete national defenses ready for any emergency. We must have a sufficient and effective regular army and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes.

"We must have a navy so strong and so well proportioned and equipped, so thoroughly ready and prepared, that no enemy can gain command of the sea and effect a landing in force on either our western or our eastern coast. To secure these results we must have a coherent and continuous policy of national defense, which even in

these perilous days the Democratic party has utterly failed to develop, but which we promise to give to the country.

"Tariff.—The Republican party stands now, as always, in the fullest sense for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor, and does not regard an anti-dumping provision as an adequate substitute.

"Such protection should be reasonable in amount but sufficient to protect adequately American industries and American labor and so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial independence of the United States, as in the case of dye-stuffs.

"Through wise tariff and industrial legislation our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark but a powerful aid to national defense.

"The Underwood Tariff act is a complete failure in every respect. Under its administration imports have enormously increased in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced.

"Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war it was clearly demonstrated that this act deprived the American producer and the American wage-earner of that protection which enabled them to meet their foreign competitors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward.

"It has not in the least degree reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of its enactment. The welfare of our people demands its repeal and the substitution of a measure which in peace as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, forest, field, and factory.

"We favor the creation of a Tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.

"Business.—The Republican party has long believed in the rigid

supervision and strict regulation of the transportation and of the great corporations of the country. It has put its creed into its deeds, and all really effective laws regulating the railroads and the great industrial corporations are the work of Republican Congresses and Presidents. For this policy of regulation and supervision the Democrats, in a stumbling and piecemeal way, are within the sphere of private enterprise and in direct competition with its own citizens, a policy which is sure to result in waste, great expense to the taxpayer, and in an inferior product.

"The Republican party firmly believes that all who violate the laws in regulation of business should be individually punished. But prosecution is very different from persecution, and business success, no matter how honestly attained, is apparently regarded by the Democratic party as in itself a crime. Such doctrines and beliefs choke enterprise and stifle prosperity. The Republican party believes in encouraging American business, as it believes in and will seek to advance all American interests.

"*Rural Credits.*—We favor an effective system of rural credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic administration.

"*Rural Free Delivery.*—We favor the extension of the rural free-delivery system and condemn the Democratic administration for cur-tailing and crippling it.

"*Merchant Marine.*—In view of the policies adopted by all the maritime nations to encourage their shipping interests, and in order to enable us to compete with them for the ocean-carrying trade, we favor the payment to ships engaged in the foreign trade of liberal compensation for services actually rendered in carrying the mails, and such further legislation as will build up an adequate American merchant marine and give us ships which may be requisitioned by the government in time of national emergency.

"We are utterly opposed to the government ownership of vessels as proposed by the Democratic party, because government-owned ships, while effectively preventing the development of the American merchant marine by private capital, will be entirely unable to pro-



WARREN G. HARDING

Warren G. Harding, 29th president; born at Corsica, Ohio, November 2, 1865; publisher; member Ohio state senate, 1900-1904; lieutenant governor of Ohio, 1904-06; defeated for governor, 1910; United States senator, 1915-21; elected president, November 2, 1920.

vide for the vast volume of American freights and will leave us more helpless than ever in the hard grip of foreign syndicates.

"Transportation.—Interstate and intrastate transportation have become so interwoven that the attempt to apply two, and often several, sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassment in operation, and inconvenience and expense to the public.

"The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We therefore favor such action by legislation or, if necessary, through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as will result in placing it under complete Federal control.

"Economy and a National Budget.—The increasing cost of the national government and the need for the greatest economy of its resources in order to meet the growing demands of the people for government service call for the severest condemnation of the wasteful appropriations of this Democratic administration, of its shameless raids on the treasury, and of its opposition to and rejection of President Taft's oft-repeated proposals and earnest efforts to secure economy and efficiency through the establishment of a simple businesslike budget system, to which we pledge our support and which we hold to be necessary to effect any real reform in the administration of national finances.

"Conservation.—We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the nation—a husbandry which means development without waste, use without abuse.

"Civil Service Reform.—The Civil Service law has always been sustained by the Republican party, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The Democratic party has created since March 4, 1913, thirty thousand offices outside of the Civil Service law at an annual cost of forty-four million dollars to the taxpayers of the country.

"We condemn the gross abuse and the misuse of the law by the present Democratic administration, and pledge ourselves to a reorganization of this service along lines of efficiency and economy.

"Territorial Officials.—Reaffirming the attitude long maintained by the Republican party, we hold that officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory should be bona fide residents of the Territory in which their duties are to be performed.

"Labor Laws.—We pledge the Republican party to the faithful enforcement of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education; the enactment and rigid enforcement of a Federal Child Labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive Workmen's Compensation law, within the commerce power of Congress; and an Accident Compensation law covering all government employees. We favor the collection and collation, under the direction of the Department of Labor, of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation, and protection of labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

"Suffrage.—The Republican party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of the country favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself.

"Conclusion.—Such are our principles, such are our 'purposes and policies.' We close as we began. The times are dangerous, and the future is fraught with perils. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. The American spirit, which made the country and saved the Union, has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native-born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration. We call on all Americans to be true to the spirit of America, to the great traditions of their common country, and, above all things, to keep the faith."

The member of the committee on resolutions from Wisconsin offered a substitute platform expressive of the familiar LaFollette ideas, inclusive of disfavor

toward Americans engaged in assisting belligerent nations in the European War—meaning, of course, the Entente Allies, as there could be no possible assistance to Germany on account of the Allied control of the seas. A division on the question of adopting the substitute was refused, and the original platform was approved *viva voce*.

Other Parties

Progressive Party.—Convention held in Chicago, June 7-10, 1916. Temporary and permanent chairman, Raymond Robins. As above related (see Republican Party), the conferences with the Republicans were without result. The convention was advised by Roosevelt to nominate Henry Cabot Lodge for President, but was for Roosevelt only and chose him as the candidate by acclamation. John M. Parker, of Louisiana, was unanimously nominated for Vice-President. Mr. Roosevelt declined. On June 26 the Progressive national committee, by a vote of 26 to 6, endorsed Hughes. A conference of the party was called by some of its radical supporters, which met in Indianapolis on August 3 and repudiated Hughes but did not make a new Presidential nomination. Parker continued as the Vice-Presidential candidate. The party nominated Electors in a few States, but received no substantial support and went out of existence.

Prohibition Party.—Convention held in St. Paul, July 19-21, 1916. For President, J. Frank Hanly, of Indiana; for Vice-President, Ira D. Landrith, of Tennessee.

Socialist Party.—No national nominating convention was held. The candidates were chosen by referendum vote of the party members. For President, Allan L. Benson, of New York; for Vice-President, George R. Kirkpatrick, of New Jersey.

Socialist Labor Party.—For President, Arthur E. Reimer, of Massachusetts; for Vice-President, Caleb Harrison, of Illinois.

The Election

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

Woodrow Wilson and Thomas R. Marshall, Democrats:—Alabama, 12; Arizona, 3; Arkansas, 9; California, 13; Colorado, 6; Florida, 6; Georgia, 14; Idaho, 4; Kansas, 10; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 10; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 10; Missouri, 18; Montana, 4; Nebraska, 8; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 4; New Mexico, 3; North Carolina, 12; North Dakota, 5; Ohio, 24; Oklahoma, 10; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 20; Utah, 4; Virginia, 12; Washington, 7; West Virginia, 1; Wyoming, 3. Total, 277. Elected.

Charles E. Hughes and Charles W. Fairbanks, Republicans:—Connecticut, 7; Delaware, 3; Illinois, 29; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 13; Maine, 6; Massachusetts, 18; Michigan, 15; Minnesota, 12; New Jersey, 14; New York, 45; Oregon, 5; Pennsylvania, 38; Rhode Island, 5; South Dakota, 5; Vermont, 4; West Virginia, 7; Wisconsin, 13. Total, 254.

Popular vote:

Wilson, 9,129,606; Hughes, 8,538,221; Benson, 585,113; Hanly, 220,506; Progressive Electors, 41,894; Reimer, 13,403.

1920

Democratic Party

Convention held in San Francisco, June 28-July 6, 1920. Temporary chairman, Homer S. Cummings, of Connecticut; permanent chairman, Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas. At the opening the convention sent to President Wilson a message expressive of its "admir- ing and respectful greetings." The proceedings were marked by full accord with the President in his poli- cies, especially in relation to the League of Nations. James A. Reed, of Missouri, one of the leading opponents of the League in the United States Senate, who had been chosen as a delegate from his dis- trict but afterward had been rejected by the Missouri Democratic State convention, was refused a seat by action of the credentials committee, which was ap- proved by the national convention.

First ballot for President:—William G. McAdoo, of New York, 266; A. Mitchell Palmer, of Pennsylvania, 256; James M. Cox, of Ohio, 134; Alfred E. Smith, of New York, 109; Edward I. Edwards, of New Jersey, 42; Thomas R. Marshall, of Indiana, 37; Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, 33; John W. Davis, of West Vir- ginia, 32; Edwin T. Meredith, of Iowa, 27; Carter Glass, of Virginia, 26½; Homer S. Cummings, of Con-

necticut, 25; F. S. Simmons, of North Carolina, 24; James W. Gerard, of New York, 21; John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, 20; Gilbert M. Hitchcock, of Nebraska, 18; eight others, $23\frac{1}{2}$. The contest at all stages was practically confined to the three candidates who led at the start—McAdoo, Palmer, and Cox; the others having appreciable support were mostly favorite sons, none of whom made gains of any significance except Davis, whose vote at the highest reached only 76 (fortieth ballot). After the early ballots it became manifest that the supreme struggle was between McAdoo and Cox. The Palmer vote presently declined until it was under 200, but after that retained marked solidity and for a brief time even showed a decided rise; as late as the thirty-sixth ballot Palmer had 241, against 399 for McAdoo and 377 for Cox. A noteworthy incident of the long contest was a motion offered at the end of the thirtieth ballot to drop the lowest candidate after each succeeding ballot until a nomination should be effected. When Ohio was reached in the roll-call on this motion Governor Cox's manager, Edmond H. Moore, announced that his State passed to await Pennsylvania's vote and would vote as Pennsylvania did—this course being plainly taken in deference to Palmer as the weakest of the leading candidates. Pennsylvania voted against the motion, as did Ohio; and it was defeated by $820\frac{1}{2}$ nays to 256 ayes. Following the thirty-eighth ballot the Palmer vote disintegrated; on the thirty-ninth Cox had $468\frac{1}{2}$, McAdoo 440, Palmer 74, others $108\frac{1}{2}$. The forty-fourth and last ballot as com-

pleted before changes stood: Cox, 699½; McAdoo, 270; Davis, 52; Owen, 34; Glass, 1½; Palmer, 1; Bainbridge Colby, 1. Changes were at once made to Cox which gave him more than the necessary two-thirds, and he was then nominated unanimously.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, of New York, received the nomination for Vice-President by unanimous vote.

Platform (unanimously adopted) :

"The Democratic party, in its national convention now assembled, sends greetings to the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, and hails with patriotic pride the great achievements for country and the world wrought by a Democratic administration under his leadership.

"It salutes the mighty people of this great republic, emerging with imperishable honor from the severe tests and grievous strains of the most tragic war in history, having earned the plaudits and the gratitude of all free nations.

"It declares its adherence to the fundamental progressive principles of social, economic, and industrial justice and advance, and purposes to resume the great work of translating these principles into effective laws begun and carried far by the Democratic administration and interrupted only when the war claimed all the national energies for the single task of victory.

"League of Nations.—The Democratic party favors the League of Nations as the surest, if not the only, practicable means of maintaining the peace of the world and terminating the insufferable burden of great military and naval establishments. It was for this that America broke away from traditional isolation and spent her blood and treasure to crush a colossal scheme of conquest. It was upon this basis that the President of the United States, in prearrangement with our Allies, consented to a suspension of hostilities against the imperial German government; the armistice was granted and a treaty of peace negotiated upon the definite assurance to Germany, as well as to the powers pitted against Germany, that 'a general association of nations

must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.' Hence, we not only congratulate the President on the vision manifested and the vigor exhibited in the prosecution of the war, but we felicitate him and his associates on the exceptional achievement at Paris involved in the adoption of a League and treaty so near akin to previously expressed American ideals and so intimately related to the aspirations of civilized peoples everywhere.

"We commend the President for his courage and his high conception of good faith in steadfastly standing for the covenant agreed to by all the associated and allied nations at war with Germany, and we condemn the Republican Senate for its refusal to ratify the treaty merely because it was the product of Democratic statesmanship, thus interposing partisan envy and personal hatred in the way of the peace and renewed prosperity of the world.

"By every accepted standard of international morality the President is justified in asserting that the honor of the country is involved in this business; and we point to the accusing fact that, before it was determined to initiate political antagonism to the treaty, the now Republican chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee himself publicly proclaimed that any proposition for a separate peace with Germany, such as he and his party associates thereafter reported to the Senate, would make us 'guilty of the blackest crime.'

"On May 15 last the Knox substitute for the Versailles treaty was passed by the Republican Senate; and this convention can contrive no more fitting characterization of its obloquy than that made in the *Forum* magazine of June, 1918, by Henry Cabot Lodge, when he said:

" 'If we send our armies and young men abroad to be killed and wounded in northern France and in Flanders with no result but this, our entrance into war with such an intention was a crime which nothing can justify. The intent of Congress and the intent of the President was that there could be no peace until we could create a situation where no such war as this could recur. . . . We cannot make peace except in company with our Allies. . . . It

would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us also if we undertook to make a separate peace.'

"Thus to that which Mr. Lodge in saner moments considered 'the blackest crime,' he and his party in madness sought to give the sanctity of law; that which eighteen months ago was of 'everlasting dishonor' the Republican party and its candidates to-day accept as the essence of faith.

"We endorse the President's view of our international obligations and his firm stand against reservations designed to cut to pieces the vital provisions of the Versailles treaty, and we commend the Democrats in Congress for voting against resolutions for separate peace which would disgrace the nation. We advocate the immediate ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity; but do not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates. Only by doing this may we retrieve the reputation of this nation among the powers of the earth and recover the moral leadership which President Wilson won and which Republican politicians at Washington sacrificed. Only by doing this may we hope to aid effectively in the restoration of order throughout the world and to take the place which we should assume in the front rank of spiritual, commercial, and industrial advancement.

"We reject as utterly vain, if not vicious, the Republican assumption that ratification of the treaty and membership in the League of Nations would in any wise impair the integrity or independence of our country. The fact that the covenant has been entered into by twenty-nine nations, all as jealous of their independence as we are of ours, is a sufficient refutation of such charge. The President repeatedly has declared, and this convention reaffirms, that all our duties and obligations as a member of the League must be fulfilled in strict conformity with the Constitution of the United States, embodied in which is the fundamental requirement of declaratory action by the Congress before this nation may become a participant in any war.

"Conduct of the War.—During the war President Wilson exhibited the very broadest conception of liberal Americanism. In his conduct of the war, as in the general administration of his high office,

there was no semblance of partisan bias. He invited to Washington as his councillors and coadjutors hundreds of the most prominent and pronounced Republicans in the country. To these he committed responsibilities of the gravest import and most confidential nature. Many of them had charge of vital activities of the government.

"And yet, with the war successfully prosecuted and gloriously ended, the Republican party in Congress, far from applauding the masterly leadership of the President and felicitating the country on the amazing achievements of the American government, has meanly requited the considerate course of the Chief-Magistrate by savagely defaming the commander-in-chief of the army and navy and by assailing nearly every public officer of every branch of the service intimately concerned in winning the war abroad and preserving the security of the government at home.

"We express to the soldiers and sailors and marines of America the admiration of their fellow-countrymen. Guided by the genius of such commanders as General John J. Pershing, the armed forces of America constituted a decisive factor in the victory and brought new luster to the flag.

"We commend the patriotic men and women who sustained the efforts of their government in the crucial hours of the war and contributed to the brilliant administrative success achieved under the broad-visioned leadership of the President.

"Financial Achievements.—A review of the record of the Democratic party during the administration of Woodrow Wilson presents a chapter of substantial achievements unsurpassed in the history of the republic. For fifty years before the advent of this administration periodical convulsions had impeded the industrial progress of the American people and caused inestimable loss and distress. By the enactment of the Federal Reserve act the old system, which bred panics, was replaced by a new system, which insured confidence. It was an indispensable factor in winning the war, and to-day it is the hope and inspiration of business. Indeed, one vital danger against which the American people should keep constantly on guard is the commitment of this system to partisan enemies who struggled against its adoption and vainly attempted to retain in the hands of speculative

bankers a monopoly of the currency and credits of the nation. Already there are well-defined indications of an assault upon the vital principles of the system in the event of Republican success in the elections in November.

"Under Democratic leadership the American people successfully financed their stupendous part in the greatest war of all time. The treasury wisely insisted during the war upon meeting an adequate portion of the war expenditure from current taxes and the bulk of the balance from popular loans, and, during the first full fiscal year after fighting stopped, upon meeting current expenditures from current receipts notwithstanding the new and unnecessary burdens thrown upon the treasury by the delay, obstruction, and extravagance of a Republican Congress.

"The non-partisan Federal Reserve authorities have been wholly free of political interference or motive, and in their own time and their own way have used courageously, though cautiously, the instruments at their disposal to prevent undue expansion of credit in the country. As a result of these sound treasury and Federal Reserve policies, the inevitable war inflation has been held down to a minimum, and the cost of living has been prevented from increasing in this country in proportion to the increase in other belligerent countries and in neutral countries which are in close contact with the world's commerce and exchanges.

"After a year and a half of fighting in Europe, and despite another year and a half of Republican obstruction at home, the credit of the government of the United States stands unimpaired, the Federal Reserve note is the unit of value throughout all the world, and the United States is the one great country in the world which maintains a free gold market.

"We condemn the attempt of the Republican party to deprive the American people of their legitimate pride in the financing of the war—an achievement without parallel in the financial history of this or any other country, in this or any other war. And in particular we condemn the pernicious attempt of the Republican party to create discontent among the holders of the bonds of the government of the United States and to drag our public finance and

our banking and currency system back into the arena of party politics.

"Tax Revision.—We condemn the failure of the present Congress to respond to the oft-repeated demand of the President and the Secretaries of the Treasury to revise the existing tax laws. The continuance in force in peace times of taxes devised under pressure of imperative necessity to produce a revenue for war purposes is indefensible and can only result in lasting injury to the people. The Republican Congress persistently failed, through sheer political cowardice, to make a single move toward a readjustment of tax laws which it denounced before the last election and was afraid to revise before the next election.

"We advocate tax reform and a searching revision of the War Revenue acts to fit peace conditions, so that the wealth of the nation may not be withdrawn from productive enterprise and diverted to wasteful or non-productive expenditure.

"We demand prompt action by the next Congress for a complete survey of existing taxes and their modification and simplification with a view to secure greater equity and justice in tax burdens and improvement in administration.

"Public Economy.—Claiming to have effected great economies in government expenditures, the Republican party cannot show the reduction of one dollar in taxation as a corollary of this false pretense. In contrast, the last Democratic Congress enacted legislation reducing taxes from eight billions, designed to be raised, to six billions for the first year after the armistice, and to four billions thereafter; and there the total is left undiminished by our political adversaries. Two years after Armistice day a Republican Congress provides for expending the stupendous sum of \$5,403,390,327.30.

"Affecting great paper economies by reducing departmental estimates of sums which would not have been spent in any event, and by reducing formal appropriations, the Republican statement of expenditures omits the pregnant fact that the Congress authorized the use of one and a half billion dollars in the hands of various departments and bureaus which otherwise would have been covered back into the treasury, and which should be added to the Republican total of expenditures.

"High Cost of Living.—The high cost of living and the depreciation of bond values in this country are primarily due to the war itself, to the necessary governmental expenditures for the destructive purposes of war, to private extravagance, to the world shortage of capital, to the inflation of foreign currencies and credits, and, in large degree, to conscienceless profiteering.

"The Republican party is responsible for the failure to restore peace and peace conditions in Europe, which is a principal cause of post-armistice inflation the world over. It has denied the demand of the President for necessary legislation to deal with secondary and local causes. The sound policies pursued by the treasury and the Federal Reserve system have limited in this country, though they could not prevent, the inflation which was world-wide.

"Elected upon specific promises to curtail public expenditures and to bring the country back to a status of effective economy, the Republican party in Congress wasted time and energy for more than a year in vain and extravagant investigations, costing the tax-payers great sums of money while revealing nothing beyond the incapacity of Republican politicians to cope with the problems. Demanding that the President, from his place at the peace table, call the Congress into extraordinary session for imperative purposes of readjustment, the Congress when convened spent thirteen months in partisan pursuits, failing to repeal a single war statute which harassed business or to initiate a single constructive measure to help business. It busied itself making a preëlection record of pretended thrift, having not one particle of substantial existence in fact. It raged against profiteers and the high cost of living without enacting a single statute to make the former afraid or doing a single act to bring the latter within limitations.

"The simple truth is that the high cost of living can only be remedied by increased production, strict governmental economy, and a relentless pursuit of those who take advantage of post-war conditions and are demanding and receiving outrageous profits.

"We pledge the Democratic party to a policy of strict economy in government expenditures, and to the enactment and enforcement of

such legislation as may be required to bring profiteers before the bar of criminal justice.

"The Tariff.—We reaffirm the traditional policy of the Democratic party in favor of a tariff for revenue only, and we confirm the policy of basing tariff revisions upon the intelligent research of a non-partisan commission rather than upon the demands of selfish interests, temporarily held in abeyance.

"Budget.—In the interest of economy and good administration, we favor the creation of an effective budget system that will function in accord with the principles of the Constitution. The reform should reach both the executive and legislative aspects of the question. The supervision and preparation of the budget should be vested in the Secretary of the Treasury as the representative of the President. The budget, as such, should not be increased by the Congress except by a two-thirds vote, each house, however, being free to exercise its constitutional privilege of making appropriations through independent bills. The Appropriation bills should be considered by single committees of the House and Senate. The audit system should be consolidated and its powers expanded so as to pass upon the wisdom of, as well as the authority for, expenditures.

"A Budget bill was passed in the closing days of the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress which, invalidated by plain constitutional defects and defaced by considerations of patronage, the President was obliged to veto. The House amended the bill to meet the Executive objection. We condemn the Republican Senate for adjourning without passing the amended measure, when by devoting an hour or two more to this urgent public business a budget system could have been provided.

"Senate Rules.—We favor such alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the nation's legislative business.

"Agricultural Interests.—To the great agricultural interests of the country the Democratic party does not find it necessary to make promises. It already is rich in its record of things actually accomplished. For nearly half a century of Republican rule not a sentence was written into the Federal statutes affording one dollar of bank

credits to the farming interests of America. In the first term of this Democratic administration the National Bank act was so altered as to authorize loans of five years' maturity on improved farm lands. Later was established a system of Farm Loan banks, from which the borrowings already exceed three hundred millions of dollars and under which the interest rate to farmers has been so materially reduced as to drive out of business the farm loan sharks who formerly subsisted by extortion upon the great agricultural interests of the country.

"Thus it was a Democratic Congress in the administration of a Democratic President which enabled the farmers of America for the first time to obtain credit upon reasonable terms and insured their opportunity for the future development of the nation's agricultural resources. Tied up in Supreme Court proceedings, in a suit by hostile interests, the Federal Farm Loan system, originally opposed by the Republican candidate for the Presidency, appealed in vain to a Republican Congress for adequate financial assistance to tide over the interim between the beginning and the ending of the current year, awaiting a final decision of the highest court on the validity of the contested act. We pledge prompt and consistent support of sound and effective measures to sustain, amplify, and perfect the Rural Credits statutes and thus to check and reduce the growth and course of farm tenancy.

"Not only did the Democratic party put into effect a great Farm Loan system of land mortgage banks, but it passed the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension act, carrying to every farmer in every section of the country, through the medium of trained experts and by demonstration farms, the practical knowledge acquired by the Federal Agricultural department in all things relating to agriculture, horticulture, and animal life; it established the Bureau of Markets, the Bureau of Farm Management, and passed the Cotton Futures act, the Grain Grades bill, the Coöperative Farm Administration act, and the Federal Warehouse act.

"The Democratic party has vastly improved the rural mail system and has built up the parcel post system to such an extent as to render its activities and its practical service indispensable to the farming community. It was this wise encouragement and this effective concern of the Democratic party for the farmers of the United States that

enabled this great interest to render such essential service in feeding the armies of America and the Allied nations of the war and succoring starving populations since Armistice day.

"Meanwhile the Republican leaders at Washington have failed utterly to propose one single measure to make rural life more tolerable. They have signalized their fifteen months of Congressional power by urging schemes which would strip the farms of labor; by assailing the principles of the Farm Loan system and seeking to impair its efficiency; by covertly attempting to destroy the great nitrogen plant at Muscle Shoals upon which the government has expended \$70,000,000 to supply American farmers with fertilizers at reasonable cost; by ruthlessly crippling nearly every branch of agricultural endeavor, literally starving the productive mediums through which the people must be fed.

"We favor such legislation as will confirm to the primary producers of the nation the right of collective bargaining and the right of coöperative handling and marketing of the products of the workshop and the farm, and such legislation as will facilitate the exportation of our farm products.

"We favor comprehensive studies of farm production costs and the uncensored publication of facts found in such studies.

"Labor and Industry.—The Democratic party is now, as ever, the firm friend of honest labor and the promoter of progressive industry. It established the Department of Labor at Washington, and a Democratic President called to his official council board the first practical workingman who ever held a cabinet portfolio. Under this administration have been established employment bureaus to bring the man and the job together; have been peaceably determined many bitter disputes between capital and labor; were passed the Child Labor act, the Workingmen's Compensation act (the extension of which we advocate so as to include laborers engaged in loading and unloading ships and in interstate commerce), the Eight-hour law, the act for vocational training, and a code of other wholesome laws affecting the liberties and bettering the conditions of the laboring classes. In the Department of Labor the Democratic administration established a Woman's

bureau, which a Republican Congress destroyed by withholding appropriations.

"Labor is not a commodity; it is human. Those who labor have rights, and the national security and safety depend upon a just recognition of those rights and the conservation of the strength of the workers and their families in the interest of sound-hearted and sound-headed men, women, and children. Laws regulating hours of labor and conditions under which labor is performed, when passed in recognition of the conditions under which life must be lived to attain the highest development and happiness, are just assertions of the national interest in the welfare of the people.

"At the same time, the nation depends upon the products of labor; a cessation of production means loss and, if long continued, disaster. The whole people, therefore, have a right to insist that justice shall be done to those who work, and in turn that those whose labor creates the necessities upon which the life of the nation depends must recognize the reciprocal obligation between the worker and the state. They should participate in the formulation of sound laws and regulations governing the conditions under which labor is performed, recognize and obey the laws so formulated, and seek their amendment when necessary by the processes ordinarily addressed to the laws and regulations affecting the other relations of life.

"Labor, as well as capital, is entitled to adequate compensation. Each has the indefeasible right of organization, of collective bargaining, and of speaking through representatives of their own selection. Neither class, however, should at any time nor in any circumstances take action that will put in jeopardy the public welfare. Resort to strikes and lockouts which endanger the health or lives of the people is an unsatisfactory device for determining disputes, and the Democratic party pledges itself to contrive, if possible, and put into effective operation, a fair and comprehensive method of composing differences of this nature.

"In private industrial disputes we are opposed to compulsory arbitration as a method plausible in theory but a failure in fact. With respect to government service, we hold distinctly that the rights of the people are paramount to the right to strike. However, we profess

scrupulous regard for the conditions of public employment and pledge the Democratic party to instant inquiry into the pay of government employes and equally speedy regulations designed to bring salaries to a just and proper level.

"Woman Suffrage.—We endorse the proposed Nineteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States granting equal suffrage to women. We congratulate the Legislatures of the thirty-five States which have already ratified said amendment, and we urge the Democratic Governors and Legislatures of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Florida, and such States as have not yet ratified the Federal Suffrage amendment, to unite in an effort to complete the process of ratification and secure the thirty-sixth State in time for all the women of the United States to participate in the fall election. We commend the effective advocacy of the measure by President Wilson.

"Welfare of Women and Children.—We urge coöperation with the States for the protection of child life through infancy and maternity care, in the prohibition of child labor, and by adequate appropriations for the Children's bureau and the Woman's bureau in the Department of Labor.

"Women in Industry.—We advocate full representation of women on all commissions dealing with women's work or women's interests and a reclassification of the Federal civil service free from discrimination on the ground of sex; a continuance of appropriations for education in sex hygiene; Federal legislation which shall insure that American women resident in the United States, but married to aliens, shall retain their American citizenship, and that the same process of naturalization shall be required for women as for men.

"Education.—Coöperative Federal assistance to the States is immediately required for the removal of illiteracy, for the increase of teachers' salaries, and instruction in citizenship for both native and foreign-born; increased appropriation for vocational training in home economics; reëstablishment of joint Federal and State employment service with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women.

"Disabled Soldiers.—The Federal government should treat with the utmost consideration every disabled soldier, sailor, and marine of

the World War, whether his disability be due to wounds received in line of action or to health impaired in service; and for the dependents of the brave men who died in line of duty the government's tenderest concern and richest bounty should be their requital. The fine patriotism exhibited, the heroic conduct displayed by American soldiers, sailors, and marines at home and abroad, constitute a sacred heritage of posterity, the worth of which can never be recompensed from the treasury and the glory of which must not be diminished.

"The Democratic administration wisely established a War Risk Insurance bureau, giving four and a half millions of enlisted men insurance at unprecedentedly low rates and through the medium of which compensation of men and women injured in service is readily adjusted and hospital facilities for those whose health is impaired are abundantly afforded.

"The Federal Board for Vocational Education should be made a part of the War Risk Insurance bureau, in order that the task may be treated as a whole, and this machinery of protection and assistance must receive every aid of law and appropriation necessary to full and effective operation.

"We believe that no higher or more valued privilege can be afforded to an American citizen than to become a freeholder in the soil of the United States, and to that end we pledge our party to the enactment of soldier settlements and home aid legislation which will afford to the men who fought for America the opportunity to become land and home-owners under conditions affording genuine government assistance unencumbered by needless difficulties of red tape or advance financial investment.

"*The Railroads.*—The railroads were subjected to Federal control as a war measure without other idea than the swift transport of troops, munitions, and supplies. When human life and national hopes were at stake profits could not be considered and were not. Federal operation, however, was marked by an intelligence and efficiency that minimized loss and resulted in many and marked reforms. The equipment taken over was not only grossly inadequate, but shamefully outworn. Unification practices overcame these initial handicaps and provided additions, betterments, and improvements. Economies enabled opera-

tion without the rate raises that private control would have found necessary, and labor was treated with an exact justice that secured the enthusiastic coöperation that victory demanded. The fundamental purpose of Federal control was achieved fully and splendidly, and at far less cost to the taxpayer than would have been the case under private operation. Investments in railroad properties were not only saved by government operation, but government management returned these properties vastly improved in every physical and executive detail. A great task was greatly discharged.

"The President's recommendation of return to private ownership gave the Republican majority a full year in which to enact the necessary legislation. The House took six months to formulate its ideas, and another six months was consumed by the Republican Senate in equally vague debate. As a consequence, the Esch-Cummins bill went to the President in the closing hours of the time limit prescribed, and he was forced to a choice between the chaos of a veto and acquiescence in the measure submitted however grave may have been his objections to it.

"There should be a fair and complete test of the law, and until careful and mature action by Congress may cure its defects and insure a thoroughly effective transportation system under private ownership without government subsidy at the expense of the taxpayers of the country.

"Improved Highways.—Improved roads are of vital importance not only to commerce and industry, but also to agriculture and rural life. The Federal Road act of 1916, enacted by a Democratic Congress, represented the first systematic effort of the government to insure the building of an adequate system of roads in this country. The act, as amended, has resulted in placing the movement for improved highways on a progressive and substantial basis in every State in the Union and in bringing under actual construction more than 13,000 miles of roads suited to the traffic needs of the communities in which they are located.

"We favor a continuance of the present Federal aid plan under existing Federal and State agencies, amended so as to include as one of

the elements in determining the ratio in which the several States shall be entitled to share in the fund, the area of any public lands therein.

"Inasmuch as the postal service has been extended by the Democratic party to the door of practically every producer and every consumer in the country (rural free delivery alone having been provided for 6,000,000 additional patrons within the past eight years without material added cost), we declare that this instrumentality can and will be used to the maximum of its capacity to improve the efficiency of distribution and reduce the cost of living to consumers while increasing the profitable operations of producers.

"We strongly favor the increased use of the motor vehicle in the transportation of the mails and urge the removal of the restrictions imposed by the Republican Congress on the use of motor devices in mail transportation in rural territories.

"*Merchant Marine.*—We desire to congratulate the American people upon the rebirth of our merchant marine, which once more maintains its former place in the world. It was under a Democratic administration that this was accomplished after seventy years of indifference and neglect, thirteen million tons having been constructed since the act was passed, in 1916. We pledge the policy of our party to the continued growth of our merchant marine under proper legislation so that American products will be carried to all ports of the world by vessels built in American yards, flying the American flag.

"*Port Facilities.*—The urgent demands of the war for adequate transportation of war materials, as well as for domestic need, revealed the fact that our port facilities and rate adjustments were such as to seriously affect the whole country in times of peace as well as war.

"We pledge our party to stand for equality of rates, both import and export, for the ports of the country, to the end that there may be adequate and fair facilities and rates for the mobilization of the products of the country offered for shipment.

"*Inland Waterways.*—We call attention to the failure of the Republican national convention to recognize in any way the rapid development of barge transportation on our inland waterways, which development is the result of the constructive policies of the Democratic administration. And we pledge ourselves to the further devel-

opment of adequate transportation facilities on our rivers and to the further improvement of our inland waterways; and we recognize the importance of connecting the Great Lakes with the sea by way of the Mississippi River and its tributaries, as well as by the St. Lawrence River. We favor an enterprising foreign trade policy with all nations, and in this connection we favor the full utilization of all Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific ports, and an equitable distribution of shipping facilities between the various ports.

"Transportation remains an increasingly vital problem in the continued development and prosperity of the nation.

"Our present facilities for distribution by rail are inadequate, and the promotion of transportation by water is imperative.

"We therefore favor a liberal and comprehensive policy for development and utilization of our harbors and interior waterways.

"Flood Control.—We commend the Democratic Congress for the redemption of the pledge contained in our last platform by the passage of the Flood Control act of March 1, 1917, and point to the successful control of floods of the Mississippi River and the Sacramento River, California, under the policy of that law, for its complete justification. We favor the extension of this policy to other flood-control problems wherever the Federal interest involved justifies the expenditure required.

"Reclamation of Arid Lands.—By wise legislation and progressive administration we have transformed the government reclamation projects, representing an investment of \$100,000,000, from a condition of impending failure and loss of confidence in the ability of the government to carry through such large enterprises, to a condition of demonstrated success, whereby formerly arid and wholly unproductive lands now sustain 40,000 prosperous families and have an annual crop production of over \$70,000,000, not including the crops grown on a million acres outside the projects supplied with storage water from government works.

"We favor ample appropriations for the continuation and extension of this great work of home-building and internal improvement along the same general lines, to the end that all practical projects shall be built, and waters now running to waste shall be made to provide

homes and add to the food supply, power resources, and taxable property, with the government ultimately reimbursed for the entire outlay.

"The Trade Commission.—The Democratic party heartily endorses the creation and work of the Federal Trade commission in establishing a fair field for competitive business, free from restraints of trade and monopoly, and recommends amplification of the statutes governing its activities so as to grant it authority to prevent the unfair use of patents in restraint of trade.

"Live-Stock Markets.—For the purpose of insuring just and fair treatment in the great interstate live-stock markets and thus instilling confidence in growers through which production will be stimulated and the price of meats to consumers be ultimately reduced, we favor the enactment of legislation for the supervision of such markets by the national government.

"Mexico.—The United States is the neighbor and friend of the nations of the three Americas. In a very special sense our international relations in this hemisphere should be characterized by good will and free from any possible suspicion as to our national purpose.

"The administration, remembering always that Mexico is an independent nation and that permanent stability in her government and her institutions could come only from the consent of her own people to a government of their own making, has been unwilling either to profit by the misfortunes of the people of Mexico or to enfeeble their future by imposing from the outside a rule upon their temporarily distracted councils. As a consequence, order is gradually reappearing in Mexico; at no time in many years have American lives and interests been so safe as they now are; peace reigns along the border and industry is resuming.

"When the new government of Mexico shall have given ample proof of its ability permanently to maintain law and order, signified its willingness to meet its international obligations, and written upon its statute-books just laws under which foreign investors shall have rights as well as duties, that government should receive our recognition and sympathetic assistance. Until these proper expectations have been met, Mexico must realize the propriety of a policy that asserts the right of the United States to demand full protection for its citizens.

"Petroleum.—The Democratic party recognizes the importance of the acquisition by Americans of additional sources of supply of petroleum and other minerals, and declares that such acquisition both at home and abroad should be fostered and encouraged. We urge such action, legislative and executive, as may secure to American citizens the same rights in the acquirement of mining rights in foreign countries as are enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of any other nation.

"New Nations.—The Democratic party expresses its active sympathy with the people of China, Czecho-Slovakia, Finland, Jugoslavia, Poland, Persia, and others who have recently established representative governments and who are striving to develop the institutions of true democracy.

"Ireland.—The great principle of national self-determination has received constant reiteration as one of the chief objectives for which this country entered the war, and victory established this principle.

"Within the limitations of international comity and usage, this convention repeats the several previous expressions of the sympathy of the Democratic party of the United States for the aspirations of Ireland for self-government.

"Armenia.—We express our deep and earnest sympathy for the unfortunate people of Armenia, and we believe that our government, consistently with its Constitution and principles, should render every possible and proper aid to them in their efforts to establish and maintain a government of their own.

"The Philippines.—We favor the granting of independence without unnecessary delay to the 10,500,000 inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

"Hawaii.—We favor a liberal policy of homesteading public lands in Hawaii to promote a large middle-class citizen population, with equal rights to all citizens. The importance of Hawaii as an outpost on the western frontier of the United States demands adequate appropriations by Congress for the development of our harbors and highways there.

"Porto Rico.—We favor granting to the people of Porto Rico the traditional Territorial form of government, with a view to ultimate statehood, accorded to all Territories of the United States since the

beginning of our government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of such Territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence therein.

"Alaska.—We commend the Democratic administration for inaugurating a new policy as to Alaska as evidenced by the construction of the Alaska Railroad and opening of the coal and oil fields.

"We declare for the modification of the existing Coal Land law, to promote development without disturbing the features intended to prevent monopoly;

"For such changes in the policy of forestry control as will permit the immediate initiation of the paper pulp industry;

"For relieving the Territory from the evils of long-distance government by arbitrary and interlocking bureaucratic regulation, and to that end we urge the speedy passage of a law containing the essential features of the Lane-Curry bill now pending, coördinating and consolidating all Federal control of natural resources under one department to be administered by a non-partisan board permanently resident in the Territory;

"For the fullest measure of Territorial self-government with the view of ultimate statehood, with jurisdiction over all matters not of purely Federal concern, including fisheries and game; and for an intelligent administration of Federal control we believe that all officials appointed should be qualified by previous bona fide residence in the Territory;

"For a comprehensive system of road construction with increased appropriations, and the full extension of the Federal Road Aid act to Alaska;

"For the extension to Alaska of the Federal Farm Loan act.

"Asiatic Immigrants.—The policy of the United States with reference to the non-admission of Asiatic immigrants is a true expression of the judgment of our people, and to the several States whose geographical situation or internal conditions make this policy and the enforcement of the laws enacted pursuant thereto of particular concern, we pledge our support.

"The Postal Service.—The efficiency of the Post Office department has been vindicated against a malicious and designing assault by the

efficiency of its operation. Its record refutes its assailants. Their voices are silenced and their charges have collapsed.

"We commend the work of the joint commission on the Reclassification of Salaries of Postal Employes, recently concluded, which commission was created by a Democratic administration. The Democratic party has always favored and will continue to favor the fair and just treatment of all government employes.

"Free Speech and Press.—We resent the unfounded reproaches directed against the Democratic administration for alleged interference with the freedom of the press and freedom of speech. No utterance from any quarter has been assailed, and no publication has been repressed, which has not been animated by treasonable purposes and directed against the nation's peace, order, and security in time of war.

"We reaffirm our respect for the great principles of free speech and a free press, but assert as an indisputable proposition that they afford no toleration of enemy propaganda or the advocacy of the overthrow of the government of the State or nation by force or violence.

"Republican Corruption.—The shocking disclosure of the lavish use of money by aspirants for the Republican nomination for the highest office in the gift of the people has created a painful impression throughout the country. Viewed in connection with the recent conviction of a Republican Senator from the State of Michigan for the criminal transgression of the law limiting expenditures on behalf of a candidate for the United States Senate, it indicates the reëntry, under Republican auspices, of money as an influential factor in elections, thus nullifying the letter and flaunting the spirit of numerous laws, enacted by the people, to protect the ballot from the contamination of corrupt practices. We deplore these delinquencies and invoke their stern popular rebuke, pledging our earnest efforts to a strengthening of the present statutes against corrupt practices and their rigorous enforcement.

"We remind the people that it was only by the return of a Republican Senator in Michigan, who is now under conviction and sentence for the criminal misuse of money in his election, that the present organization of the Senate with a Republican majority was made possible.

“Conclusion.—Believing that we have kept the Democratic faith, and resting our claims to the confidence of the people not upon grandiose promises but upon the solid performances of our party, we submit our record to the nation’s consideration and ask that the pledges of this platform be appraised in the light of that record.”

Several minority resolutions were offered and debated on the floor of the convention. The most important of these were:

By William J. Bryan:—“We heartily congratulate the Democratic party on its splendid leadership in the submission and ratification of the Prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution, and we pledge the party to the effective enforcement of the present enforcement law, honestly and in good faith, without any increase in the alcoholic content of permitted beverages and without any weakening of any of its provisions.” Defeated, 929½ nays to 155½ ayes.

By W. Bourke Cockran, of New York:—“The validity of the Eighteenth amendment to the Constitution has been sustained by the Supreme Court, and any law enacted under its authority must be enforced. In the interest of personal liberty, and to conserve the rights of the States, we favor Federal legislation under the Eighteenth amendment allowing the manufacture and sale, for home consumption only, of cider, light wines, and beer; reserving to the various States power to fix any alcoholic content thereof lower than that fixed by Congress, as may be demanded by the opinion and conscience of each locality.” Defeated, 726½ nays to 356 ayes.

By Edward L. Doheny, of California.—“*Ireland.*—Mindful of the circumstances of the birth of our nation, we reiterate the principle that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We will support the continuance of our long-established and useful practice of according recognition without intervention in all cases where the people of a nation have by the free vote of the people set up a republic and chosen a government to which they yield willing obedience.” Defeated, 676 nays to 402½ yeas.

In addition, resolutions were proposed by Mr. Bryan

for 1. Establishment by the government of a "National Bulletin"; 2. Preventing "excessive charges by middlemen"; and 3. An amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for "the ratification of treaties by a majority vote," immediate ratification of the Versailles treaty with such reservations as a majority of the Senators might agree to, and "selection of the nation's delegates in the League of Nations by popular vote in districts." All these were voted down without division, as was a plank offered by Thomas J. Lyons, of Oklahoma, for extending governmental aid to the ex-service men.

Republican Party

Convention held in Chicago, June 8-12, 1920. Temporary and permanent chairman, Henry Cabot Lodge.

First ballot for President:—Leonard Wood, of New Hampshire, 287½; Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois, 211½; Hiram W. Johnson, of California, 133½; William C. Sproul, of Pennsylvania, 84; Nicholas Murray Butler, of New York, 69½; Warren G. Harding, of Ohio, 65½; Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts, 34; Robert M. LaFollette, of Wisconsin, 24; Peter C. Pritchard, of North Carolina, 21; Miles Poindexter, of Washington, 20; Howard Sutherland, of West Virginia, 16; Coleman du Pont, of Delaware, 7; Herbert Hoover, of California, 5½; William E. Borah, of Idaho, 2; Charles B. Warren, of Michigan, 1; not voting, 1. For the first eight ballots the contest for first place was between Wood and Lowden, the vote of each rising, at the maximum, to slightly over 300; necessary to a choice,

493. Johnson gained until after the fourth ballot, and then lost. No other candidate except Harding showed increase. Hoover, who had been the hope of many independents in the country at large, at no time on the first nine ballots had more than 6 votes. Following the eighth ballot the leaders in the convention agreed on Harding, who received $374\frac{1}{2}$ on the ninth ballot and was nominated on the tenth by the following vote:—Harding, 692 1-5; Wood, 156; Johnson, 84 4-5; La Follette, 24; Lowden, 11; Hoover, $9\frac{1}{2}$; Coolidge, 5; Butler, 2; Irvine L. Lenroot, of Wisconsin, 1; Will H. Hays, of Indiana, 1; Philander C. Knox, 1; not voting, $\frac{1}{2}$.

For Vice-President Calvin Coolidge received the nomination on the first ballot, having $694\frac{1}{2}$ to $300\frac{1}{2}$ for six others; not voting, 9.

Platform (unanimously adopted) :

"The Republican party, assembled in representative national convention, reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the Constitution of the United States and to the guarantees of civil, political, and religious liberty therein contained. It will resist all attempts to overthrow the foundations of the government or to weaken the force of its controlling principles and ideals, whether these attempts be made in the form of international policy or domestic agitation.

"For seven years the national government has been controlled by the Democratic party. During that period a war of unparalleled magnitude has shaken the foundations of civilization, decimated the population of Europe, and left in its train economic misery and suffering second only to the war itself.

"The outstanding features of the Democratic administration have been complete unpreparedness for war and complete unpreparedness for peace.

"Unpreparedness for War.—Inexcusable failure to make timely preparations is the chief indictment against the Democratic administration in the conduct of the war. Had not our associates protected us, both on land and sea, during the first twelve months of our participation, and furnished us to the very day of the armistice with munitions, planes, and artillery, this failure would have been punished with disaster. It directly resulted in unnecessary losses to our gallant troops, in the imperilment of victory itself, and in an enormous waste of public funds literally poured into the breach created by gross neglect. To-day it is reflected in our huge tax burdens and in the high cost of living.

"Unpreparedness for Peace.—Peace found the administration as unprepared for peace as war found it unprepared for war. The vital need of the country demanded the early and systematic return of a peace-time basis.

"This called for vision, leadership, and intelligent planning. All three have been lacking. While the country has been left to shift for itself, the government has continued on a war-time basis. The administration has not demobilized the army of place-holders. It continued a method of financing which was indefensible during the period of reconstruction. It has used legislation passed to meet the emergency of war to continue its arbitrary and inquisitorial control over the life of the people in time of peace, and to carry confusion into industrial life. Under the despot's plea of necessity or superior wisdom, Executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions still undermines our institutions. Eighteen months after the armistice, with its war-time powers unabridged, its war-time departments undischarged, its war-time army of place-holders still mobilized, the administration continues to flounder helplessly.

"The demonstrated incapacity of the Democratic party has destroyed public confidence, weakened the authority of the government, and produced a feeling of distrust and hesitation so universal as to increase enormously the difficulty of readjustment and to delay the return to normal conditions.

"Never has our nation been confronted with graver problems. The people are entitled to know in definite terms how the parties purpose

solving these problems. To that end the Republican party declares its policies and program to be as follows:

"Constitutional Government.—We undertake to end Executive autocracy and restore to the people their constitutional government.

"The policies herein declared will be carried out by the Federal and State governments, each acting within its constitutional powers.

"Foreign Relations.—The foreign policy of the administration has been founded upon no principle and directed by no definite conception of our nation's rights and obligations. It has been humiliating to America and irritating to other nations, with the result that after a period of unexampled sacrifice our motives are suspected, our moral influence impaired, and our government stands discredited and friendless among the nations of the world.

"We favor a liberal and generous foreign policy founded upon definite moral and political principles, characterized by a clear understanding of and a firm adherence to our own rights, and unfailing respect for the rights of others. We should afford full and adequate protection to the life, liberty, property, and all international rights of every American citizen, and should require a proper respect for the American flag; but we should be equally careful to manifest a just regard for the rights of other nations. A scrupulous observance of our international engagements when lawfully assumed is essential to our own honor and self-respect, and the respect of other nations. Subject to a due regard for our international obligations, we should leave our country free to develop its civilization along lines most conducive to the happiness and welfare of its people, and to cast its influence on the side of justice and right should occasion require.

"(a) Mexico

"The ineffective policy of the present administration in Mexican matters has been largely responsible for the continued loss of American lives in that country and upon our border; for the enormous loss of American and foreign property; for the lowering of American standards of morality and social relations with Mexicans, and for the bringing of American ideals of justice, national honor, and political integrity into contempt and ridicule in Mexico and throughout the world.

"The policy of wordy, futile written protests against the acts of Mexican officials, explained the following day by the President himself as being meaningless and not intended to be considered seriously or enforced, has but added in degree to that contempt, and has earned for us the sneers and jeers of Mexican bandits and added insult upon insult against our national honor and dignity.

"We should not recognize any Mexican government unless it be a responsible government willing and able to give sufficient guarantees that the lives and property of American citizens are respected and protected, that wrongs will be promptly corrected, and just compensation will be made for injury sustained. The Republican party pledges itself to a consistent, firm, and effective policy towards Mexico that shall enforce respect for the American flag and that shall protect the rights of American citizens lawfully in Mexico to security of life and enjoyment of property in accordance with established principles of international law and our treaty rights.

"The Republican party is a sincere friend of the Mexican people. In its insistence upon the maintenance of order for the protection of American citizens within its borders a great service will be rendered the Mexican people themselves; for a continuation of present conditions means disaster to their interests and patriotic aspirations.

"(b) Mandate for Armenia

"We condemn President Wilson for asking Congress to empower him to accept a mandate for Armenia. We commend the Republican Senate for refusing the President's request to empower him to accept the mandate for Armenia. The acceptance of such mandate would throw the United States into the very maelstrom of European quarrels. According to the estimate of the Harbord commission, organized by authority of President Wilson, we would be called upon to send 59,000 American boys to police Armenia and to expend \$276,000,000 in the first year and \$756,000,000 in five years. This estimate is made upon the basis that we would have only roving bands to fight; but in case of serious trouble with the Turks or with Russia, a force exceeding 200,000 would be necessary.

"No more striking illustration can be found of President Wilson's disregard of the lives of American boys or of American interests.

"We deeply sympathize with the people of Armenia and stand ready to help them in all proper ways, but the Republican party will oppose now and hereafter the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or Asia.

"(c) League of Nations

"The Republican party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice, and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war.

"We believe that all this can be done without the compromise of national independence, without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peacemakers in a multitude of quarrels, the merits of which they are unable to judge.

"The covenant signed by the President at Paris failed signally to accomplish this great purpose, and contains stipulations not only intolerable for an independent people but certain to produce the injustice, hostility, and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

"That covenant repudiated, to a degree wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable, the time-honored policies in favor of peace declared by Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe, and pursued by all American administrations for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiment of America for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon mere expediency and negotiation.

"The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way, without any change and without any regard to the opinions of a majority of the Senate, which shares with him in the treaty-making power, and the President's demand that the treaty should be ratified without any modification, created a situation in which Senators were

required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths according to their judgment against the treaty as it was presented, or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority and the responsibility under the Constitution were theirs, and not his.

"The Senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity. And we pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreements with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity, in accordance with American ideals and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

"Congress and Reconstruction.—Despite the unconstitutional and dictatorial course of the President and the partisan obstruction of the Democratic Congressional minority, the Republican majority has enacted a program of constructive legislation which in great part, however, has been nullified by the vindictive vetoes of the President.

"The Republican Congress has met the problems presented by the administration's unpreparedness for peace. It has repealed the greater part of the vexatious war legislation. It has enacted a Transportation act making possible the rehabilitation of the railroad systems of the country, the operation of which under the present Democratic administration has been wasteful, extravagant, and inefficient in the highest degree. The Transportation act made provision for the peaceful settlement of wage disputes, partially nullified, however, by the President's delay in appointing the Wage board created by the act. This delay precipitated the outlaw railroad strike.

"We stopped the flood of public treasure recklessly poured into the lap of an inept Shipping board, and laid the foundations for the creation of a great merchant marine; we took from the incompetent Democratic administration the administration of the telegraph and telephone lines of the country and returned them to private ownership; we reduced the cost of postage and increased the pay of the postal employes—the poorest paid of all public servants; we provided pensions for superannuated and retired civil servants, and for an increase in pay of soldiers and sailors. We reorganized the army on a peace

footing, and provided for the maintenance of a powerful and efficient navy.

"The Republican Congress established by law a permanent Woman's bureau in the Department of Labor; we submitted to the country the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage, and furnished twenty-nine of the thirty-five Legislatures which have ratified it to date.

"Legislation for the relief of the consumers of print paper, for the extension of the powers of the government under the Food Control act, for broadening the scope of the War Risk Insurance act, better provision for the dwindling number of aged veterans of the Civil War and for the better support of the maimed and injured of the Great War, and for making practical the Vocational Rehabilitation act, has been enacted by the Republican Congress.

"We passed an oil-leasing and water-power bill to unlock for the public good the great pent-up resources of the country; we have sought to check the profligacy of the administration, to realize upon the assets of the government, and to husband the revenues derived from taxation. The Republicans in Congress have been responsible for cuts in the estimates for government expenditure of nearly \$3,000,000,000 since the signing of the armistice.

"We enacted a national Executive Budget law; we strengthened the Federal Reserve act to permit banks to lend needed assistance to farmers; we authorized financial incorporation to develop export trade, and, finally, amended the rules of the Senate and House, which will reform evils in procedure and guarantee more efficient and responsible government.

"*Agriculture.*—The farmer is the backbone of the nation. National greatness and economic independence demand a population distributed between industry and the farm, and sharing on equal terms the prosperity which it holds is wholly dependent upon the efforts of both. Neither can prosper at the expense of the other without inviting joint disaster. The crux of the present agricultural condition lies in prices, labor, and credit.

"The Republican party believes that this condition can be improved by: **Practical and adequate farm representation** in the appointment

of governmental officials and commissions; the right to form coöperative associations for marketing their products, and protection against discrimination; the scientific study of agricultural prices and farm production costs at home and abroad, with a view to reducing the frequency of abnormal fluctuation; the uncensored publication of such reports; the authorization of associations for the extension of personal credit; a national inquiry on the coördination of rail, water, and motor transportation with adequate facilities for receiving, handling, and marketing food; the encouragement of our export trade; an end to unnecessary price-fixing and ill-considered efforts arbitrarily to reduce prices of farm products which invariably result to the disadvantage both of producer and consumer; and the encouragement of the production and importation of fertilizing material and of its extensive use.

"The Federal Farm Loan act should be so administered as to facilitate the acquisition of farm land by those desiring to become owners and proprietors, and thus minimize the evils of farm tenantry, and to furnish such long-time credits as farmers may need to finance adequately their larger and long-time production operations.

"Industrial Relations.—There are two different conceptions of the relations of capital and labor. The one is contractual, and emphasizes the diversity of interest of employer and employe. The other is that of copartnership in a common task.

"We recognize the justice of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good-will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employers and employes, and realizing the true ends of industrial justice.

"The strike or the lockout, as a means of settling industrial disputes, inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify government initiative to reduce its frequency and limit its consequences.

"We deny the right to strike against the government; but the rights and interests of all government employes must be safeguarded by impartial laws and tribunals.

"In public utilities we favor the establishment of an impartial tribunal to make an investigation of the facts and to render a decision

to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service necessary to the lives, health, and welfare of the people. The decisions of the tribunal should be morally but not legally binding, and an informed public sentiment be relied on to secure their acceptance. The tribunal, however, should refuse to accept jurisdiction except for the purpose of investigation, as long as the public service be interrupted. For public utilities we favor the type of tribunal provided for in the Transportation act of 1920.

"In private industries we do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions and better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation, and arbitration, supplemented by the full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion. The government should take the initiative in inviting the establishment of tribunals or commissions for the purpose of voluntary arbitration and of investigation of disputed issues.

"We demand the exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

"National Economy.—A Republican Congress reduced the estimates submitted by the administration almost \$3,000,000,000. Greater economies could have been effected had it not been for the stubborn refusal of the administration to coöperate with Congress in an economy program. The universal demand for an executive budget is a recognition of the incontrovertible fact that leadership and sincere assistance on the part of the executive departments are essential to effective economy and constructive retrenchment.

"The Overman act invested the President of the United States with all the authority and power necessary to restore the Federal government to a normal peace basis and to reorganize, retrench, and demobilize. The dominant fact is that eighteen months after the armistice the United States government is still on a war-time basis, and the expenditure program of the Executive reflects war-time extravagance rather than rigid peace-time economy.

"As an example of the failure to retrench which has characterized the post-war-time administration, we cite the fact that not including the War and Navy departments, the executive departments and other establishments at Washington actually record an increase

subsequent to the armistice of 2,184 employees. The net decrease in payroll costs contained in the 1921 demands submitted by the administration is only one per cent. under that of 1920. The annual expenses of Federal operations can be reduced hundreds of millions of dollars without impairing the efficiency of the public service.

"We pledge ourselves to a carefully planned readjustment on a peace-time basis and to a policy of rigid economy, to the better coördination of departmental activities, to the elimination of unnecessary officials and employees, and to the raising of the standard of individual efficiency.

"The Executive Budget.—We congratulate the Republican Congress on the enactment of a law providing for the establishment of an executive budget as a necessary instrument for a sound and businesslike administration of the national finances; and we condemn the veto of the President which defeated this great financial reform.

"Reorganization of Federal Departments and Bureaus.—We advocate a thorough investigation of the present organization of the Federal departments and bureaus, with a view to securing consolidation, a more businesslike distribution of functions, the elimination of duplication, delays and overlapping of work, and the establishment of an up-to-date and efficient administrative organization.

"War Powers of the President.—The President clings tenaciously to his autocratic war-time powers. His veto of the resolution declaring peace and his refusal to sign the bill repealing war-time legislation, no longer necessary, evidenced his determination not to restore to the nation and to the States the form of government provided for by the Constitution. This usurpation is intolerable and deserves the severest condemnation.

"Taxation.—The burden of taxation imposed upon the American people is staggering; but in presenting a true statement of the situation we must face the fact that, while the character of the taxes can and should be changed, an early reduction of the amount of revenue to be raised is not to be expected. The next Republican administration will inherit from its Democratic predecessor a floating indebtedness of over \$3,000,000,000, the prompt liquidation of which is demanded by sound financial considerations. Moreover,

the whole fiscal policy of the government must be deeply influenced by the necessity of meeting obligations in excess of \$5,000,000,000 which mature in 1923. But sound policy equally demands the early accomplishment of that real reduction of the tax burden which may be achieved by substituting simple for complex tax laws and procedure; prompt and certain determination of the tax liability for delay and uncertainty; tax laws which do not, for tax laws which do, excessively mulct the consumer or needlessly repress enterprise and thrift.

"We advocate the issuance of a simplified form of income returns; authorizing the Treasury department to make changes in regulations effective only from the date of their approval; empowering the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the consent of the taxpayers, to make final and conclusive settlements of tax claims and assessments barring fraud; and the creation of a Tax board consisting of at least three representatives of the taxpaying public and the heads of the principal divisions of the Bureau of Internal Revenue to act as a standing committee on the simplification of forms, procedure, and law, and to make recommendations to the Congress.

"Banking and Currency.—The fact is that the war, to a great extent, was financed by a policy of inflation through certificate borrowings from the banks, and bonds issued at artificial rates sustained by the low discount rates established by the Federal Reserve board. The continuance of this policy since the armistice lays the administration open to severe criticism. Almost up to the present time, the practices of the Federal Reserve board as to credit control have been frankly dominated by the convenience of the treasury. The results have been a greatly increased war cost, a serious loss to the millions of people who in good faith bought Liberty bonds and Victory notes at par, and extensive post-war speculation, followed to-day by a restricted credit for legitimate industrial expansion. As a matter of public policy we urge all banks to give credit preference to essential industries.

"The Federal Reserve system should be free from political influence, which is quite as important as its independence of domination by financial combinations.

"The High Cost of Living.—The prime cost of the high cost of living has been first and foremost a fifty per cent. depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar, due to a gross expansion of our currency and credit. Reduced production, burdensome taxation, swollen profits, and the increased demand for goods arising from a fictitious but enlarged buying power have been contributing forces in a greater or less degree.

"We condemn the unsound fiscal policies of the Democratic administration which have brought these things to pass, and their attempts to impute the consequences to minor and secondary causes. Much of the injury wrought is irreparable. There is no short way out, and we decline to deceive the people with vain promises or quack remedies. But as the political party that throughout its history has stood for honest money and sound finance, we pledge ourselves to earnest and consistent attack upon the high cost of living by rigorous avoidance of further inflation in our government borrowing, by courageous and intelligent deflation of over-expanded credit and currency, by encouragement of heightened production of goods and services, by prevention of unreasonable profits, by exercise of public economy and stimulation of private thrift, and by revision of war-imposed taxes unsuited to peace-time economy.

"Profiteering.—We condemn the Democratic administration for failure impartially to enforce the anti-profiteering laws enacted by the Republican Congress.

"Railroads.—We are opposed to government ownership and operation or employe operation of the railroads. In view of the conditions prevailing in this country, the experience of the last two years, and the conclusions which may fairly be drawn from an observation of the transportation systems of other countries, it is clear that adequate transportation service both for the present and future can be furnished more certainly, economically, and efficiently through private ownership and operation under proper regulation and control.

"There should be no speculative profit in rendering the service of transportation; but in order to do justice to the capital already invested in railway enterprise, to restore railway credit, to induce future investment at a reasonable rate, and to furnish enlarged facili-

ties to meet the requirements of the constantly increasing development and distribution, a fair return upon actual value of the railway property used in transportation should be made reasonably sure and at the same time provide constant employment to those engaged in transportation service, with fair hours and favorable working conditions, at wages or compensation at least equal to those prevailing in similar lines of industry.

"We endorse the Transportation act of 1920, enacted by the Republican Congress, as a most constructive legislative achievement.

"Waterways.—We declare it to be our policy to encourage and develop water transportation service and facilities in connection with the commerce of the United States.

"Regulation of Industry and Commerce.—We approve in general the existing Federal legislation against monopoly and combinations in restraint of trade, but since the known certainty of a law is the safety of all we advocate such amendment as will provide American business men with better means of determining in advance whether a proposed combination is or is not unlawful. The Federal Trade commission, under a Democratic administration, has not accomplished the purpose for which it was created. This commission, properly organized and its duties efficiently administered, should afford protection to the public and legitimate business interests. There should be no persecution of honest business, but to the extent that circumstances warrant we pledge ourselves to strengthen the law against unfair practices.

"We pledge the party to an immediate resumption of trade relations with every country with which we are at peace.

"International Trade and Tariff.—The uncertain and unsettled condition of international balances, the abnormal economic and trade situation of the world, and the impossibility of forecasting accurately even the near future, preclude the formulation of a definite program to meet conditions a year hence. But the Republican party reaffirms its belief in the protective principle and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture, and industry.

"Merchant Marine.—The national defense and our foreign commerce require a merchant marine of the best type of modern ship, flying the American flag, manned by American seamen, owned by private capital, and operated by private energy. We endorse the sound legislation recently enacted by the Republican Congress that will insure the promotion and maintenance of the American merchant marine.

"We favor the application of the Workmen's Compensation act to the merchant marine.

"We recommend that all ships engaged in coastwise trade and all vessels of the American merchant marine shall pass through the Panama canal without payment of tolls.

"Immigration.—The standard of living and the standard of citizenship of a nation are its most precious possessions, and the preservation and elevation of those standards is the first duty of our government. The immigration policy of the United States should be such as to insure that the number of foreigners in the country at any time shall not exceed that which can be assimilated with reasonable rapidity, and to favor immigrants whose standards are similar to ours.

"The selective tests that are at present applied should be improved by requiring a higher physical standard, a more complete exclusion of mental defectives and of criminals, and a more effective inspection applied as near the source of immigration as possible, as well as at the port of entry. Justice to the foreigner and to ourselves demands provision for the guidance, protection, and better economic distribution of our alien population. To facilitate government supervision, all aliens should be required to register annually until they become naturalized.

"The existing policy of the United States for the practical exclusion of Asiatic immigrants is sound and should be maintained.

"Naturalization.—There is urgent need of improvement in our Naturalization law. No alien should become a citizen until he has become genuinely American, and adequate tests for determining the alien's fitness for American citizenship should be provided for by law.

"We advocate, in addition, the independent naturalization of

married women. An American woman, resident in the United States, should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien.

"Free Speech and Alien Agitation.—We demand that every American citizen shall enjoy the ancient and constitutional right of free speech, free press, and free assembly and the no less sacred right of the qualified voter to be represented by his duly chosen representatives; but no man may advocate resistance to the law, and no man may advocate violent overthrow of the government.

"Aliens within the jurisdiction of the United States are not entitled of right to liberty of agitation directed against the government or American institutions.

"Every government has the power to exclude and deport those aliens who constitute a real menace to its peaceful existence. But in view of the large numbers of people affected by the Immigration acts and in view of the vigorous malpractice of the Departments of Justice and Labor, an adequate public hearing before a competent administrative tribunal should be assured to all.

"Lynching.—We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end lynching in this country, which continues to be a terrible blot on our American civilization.

"Public Roads and Highways.—We favor liberal appropriations in coöperation with the States for the construction of highways which will bring about a reduction in transportation costs, better marketing of farm products, improvement in rural postal delivery, as well as meet the needs of military defense.

"In determining the proportion of Federal aid for road construction among the States, the sums lost in taxation to the respective States by the setting apart of large portions of their area as forest reservations should be considered as a controlling factor.

"Conservation.—Conservation is a Republican policy. It began with the passage of the Reclamation act signed by President Roosevelt. The recent passage of the Coal, Oil, and Phosphate Leasing act by a Republican Congress and the enactment of the Water-power bill fashioned in accordance with the same principle, are consistent landmarks in the development of the conservation of our national resources. We denounce the refusal of the President to sign the

Water-power bill, passed after ten years of controversy. The Republican party has taken an especially honorable part in saving our national forests and in the effort to establish a national forest policy. Our most pressing conservation question relates to our forests. We are using our forest resources faster than they are being renewed. The result is to raise unduly the cost of forest products to consumers and especially farmers, who use more than half the lumber produced in America, and in the end to create a timber famine. The Federal government, the States, and private interests must unite in devising means to meet the menace.

"Reclamation.—We favor a fixed and comprehensive policy of reclamation to increase national wealth and production.

"We recognize in the development of reclamation through Federal action, with its increase of production and taxable wealth, a safeguard for the nation.

"We commend to Congress a policy to reclaim lands and the establishment of a fixed national policy of development of natural resources in relation to reclamation through the now designated government agencies.

"Army and Navy.—We feel the deepest pride in the fine courage, the resolute endurance, the gallant spirit of the officers and men of our army and navy in the World War. They were in all ways worthy of the best traditions of the nation's defenders, and we pledge ourselves to proper maintenance of the military and naval establishments upon which our national security and dignity depend.

"The Service Men.—We hold in imperishable remembrance the valor and patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of America who fought in the great war for human liberty, and we pledge ourselves to discharge to the fullest the obligations which a grateful nation justly should fulfill, in appreciation of the services rendered by its defenders on sea and on land.

"Republicans are not ungrateful. Throughout their history they have shown their gratitude toward the nation's defenders. Liberal legislation for the care of the disabled and infirm and their dependents has ever marked Republican policy toward the soldier and

sailor of all the wars in which our country has participated. The present Congress has appropriated generously for the disabled of the World War.

"The amounts already applied and authorized for the fiscal year 1920-21 for this purpose reached the stupendous sum of \$1,180,571,-893. This legislation is significant of the party's purpose in generously caring for the maimed and disabled men of the recent war.

"*Civil Service.*—We renew our repeated declaration that the Civil Service law shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The recent action of Congress in enacting a comprehensive Civil Service Retirement law and in working out a comprehensive employment and wage policy that will guarantee equal and just treatment to the army of government workers, and in centralizing the administration of the new and progressive employment policy in the hands of the Civil Service commission, is worthy of all praise.

"*Postal Service.*—We condemn the present administration for its destruction of the efficiency of the postal service, and the telegraph and telephone service when controlled by the government, and for its failure to properly compensate employes whose expert knowledge is essential to the proper conduct of the affairs of the postal system. We commend the Republican Congress for the enactment of legislation increasing the pay of postal employes, who up to that time were the poorest paid in the government service.

"*Woman Suffrage.*—We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of government and the activities of the Republican party. We earnestly hope that Republican Legislatures in States which have not yet acted on the Suffrage amendment will ratify the amendment to the end that all the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920, which is so important to the welfare of our country.

"*Social Progress.*—The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlightened measure of social and industrial justice. Although the Federal jurisdiction over social problems is limited, they affect the welfare and interest of the nation as a whole. We pledge the Republican party to the solution of

these problems through national and State legislation in accordance with the best progressive thought of the country.

"Education and Health.—We endorse the principle of Federal aid to the States for the purposes of vocational and agricultural training.

"Wherever Federal money is devoted to education, such education must be so directed as to awaken in the youth the spirit of America and a sense of patriotic duty to the United States.

"A thorough system of physical education for all children up to the age of nineteen, including adequate health supervision and instruction, would remedy conditions revealed by the draft and would add to the economic and industrial strength of the nation. National leadership and stimulation will be necessary to induce the States to adopt a wise system of physical training.

"The public health activities of the Federal government are scattered through numerous departments and bureaus, resulting in inefficiency, duplication, and extravagance. We advocate a greater centralization of the Federal functions, and in addition urge the better coördination of the work of the Federal, State, and local health agencies.

"Child Labor.—The Republican party stands for a Federal Child Labor law and for its rigid enforcement. If the present law be found unconstitutional or ineffective, we shall seek other means to enable Congress to prevent the evils of child labor.

"Women in Industry.—Women have special problems of employment which make necessary special study. We commend Congress for the permanent establishment of the Women's bureau in the United States Department of Labor to serve as a source of information to the States and to Congress.

"The principle of equal pay for equal service should be applied throughout all branches of the Federal government in which women are employed.

"Federal aid for vocational training should take into consideration the special aptitudes and needs of women workers.

"We demand Federal legislation to limit the hours of employ-

ment of women engaged in intensive industry the product of which enters into interstate commerce.

"Housing.—The housing shortage has not only compelled careful study of ways of stimulating building, but it has brought into relief the unsatisfactory character of the housing accommodations of large numbers of the inhabitants of our cities. A nation of homeowners is the best guarantee of the maintenance of those principles of liberty, law, and order upon which our government is founded. Both national and State governments should encourage in all proper ways the acquiring of homes by our citizens. The United States government should make available the valuable information on housing and town planning collected during the war. This information should be kept up to date and made currently available.

"Hawaii.—For Hawaii we recommend Federal assistance in Americanizing and educating their greatly disproportionate foreign population; home rule; and the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian race.

"Pointing to its history and relying on its fundamental principles, we declare that the Republican party has the genius, courage, and constructive ability to end executive usurpation and restore constitutional government; to fulfill our world obligations without sacrificing our national independence; to raise the national standards of education, health, and general welfare; to reestablish a peace-time administration and to substitute economy and efficiency for extravagance and chaos; to restore and maintain the national credit; to reform unequal and burdensome taxes; to free business from arbitrary and unnecessary official control; to suppress disloyalty without the denial of justice; to repel the arrogant challenge of any class and to maintain a government of all the people as contrasted with government for some of the people; and finally, to allay unrest, suspicion, and strife, and to secure the coöperation and unity of all citizens in the solution of the complex problems of the day, to the end that our country, happy and prosperous, proud of its past, sure of itself and of its institutions, may look forward with confidence to the future."

As in previous Republican conventions a minority report on platform was presented by the member of

the committee on resolutions from Wisconsin; rejected without a division.

Prohibition Party

Convention held in Lincoln, Nebraska, July 21-22, 1920.

William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, was unanimously nominated for President, but declined; and the nomination then went to Aaron S. Watkins, of Ohio.

For Vice-President, D. Leigh Colvin, of New York.

Platform:

"The Prohibition party, assembled in national convention in the city of Lincoln, Nebraska, on this twenty-second day of July, 1920, expresses its thanks to Almighty God for the victory over the beverage liquor traffic which crowns fifty years of consecrated effort. The principles which we have advocated throughout our history have been so far recognized that the manufacture and traffic in intoxicating drink have been forever prohibited in the fundamental law of the land; Congress has rightly interpreted the Eighteenth amendment in laws enacted for its enforcement; and the Supreme Court has upheld both the amendment and the law.

"Asking that it be clothed with governmental power, the Prohibition party challenges the attention of the nation and requests the votes of the people on this declaration of principles.

"Nullification Condemned.—The organized liquor traffic is engaged in a treasonable attempt to nullify the amendment by such modification of the enforcement act as will increase the alcoholic content in beer and wine and thus thwart the will of the people as constitutionally expressed.

"In the face of this open threat the Republican and Democratic parties refused to make platform declarations in favor of law enforcement, though petitioned so to do by multitudes of people. Thus the

Prohibition party remains the sole political champion of national prohibition.

"The Prohibition party in its platform in 1872 declared: 'There can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing party competition for the liquor vote; any party not openly opposed to the traffic, experience shows, will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every object of good government for party success.' Notwithstanding the liquor traffic is now outlawed by the Constitution, this fitly describes the present political attitude of the old parties.

"The issue is not only the enforcement but also the maintenance of the law to make the amendment effective.

"The proposed increase in the alcoholic content of beverages would be fraught with grave danger in that it would mean the return of the open saloon with all its attendant evils.

"*The League of Nations.*—The League of Nations is now in existence and is functioning in world affairs. We favor the entrance of the United States into the League by the immediate ratification of the treaty of peace, not objecting to reasonable reservations interpreting American understanding of the covenant. The time is past when the United States can hold aloof from the affairs of the world. Such course is short-sighted and only invites disaster.

"*Peace.*—We stand for a constitutional amendment providing that treaties of peace shall be ratified by a majority of both houses of Congress.

"We stand by our declaration of 1916 against militarism and universal military training. Without it our boys were in a short time trained to whip the greatest army ever assembled, and with national prohibition to make sure the most virile manhood in the world we should encourage universal disarmament and devotion to the arts of peace.

"*Education.*—We stand for compulsory education with instruction in the English language, which, if given in private or parochial schools, must be equivalent to that afforded by the public schools, and be under State supervision.

"*Suffrage.*—The Prohibition party has long advocated the enfran-

chisement of women. Suffrage should not be conditioned upon sex. We congratulate the women upon the freedom which the party has helped them to achieve.

"Women and the Home.—We approve and adopt the program of the National League of Women Voters for:

"The prohibition of child labor;

"Adequate appropriation for the Children's bureau;

"Protection for infant life through a Federal program for maternity and infant care;

"A Federal Department of Education, Federal aid for the removal of illiteracy, and the increase of teachers' salaries;

"Instruction of the youth and the newcomer to our shores in the duties and ideals of citizenship;

"Vocational training in home economics;

"Federal supervision of the marketing and distribution of food; the enactment and enforcement of such measures as will open the channels of trade, prevent excess profits, and eliminate unfair competition and control of the necessities of life;

"The establishment of a Woman's bureau in the Department of Labor to determine standards and policies which will improve working conditions for women and increase their efficiency;

"The appointment of women in the mediation and conciliation service and on any industrial commissions and tribunals which may be created;

"The establishment of a joint Federal and State Employment service with women's departments under the direction of qualified women;

"The merit system in the civil service free from discrimination on account of sex, with a wage scale determined by skill demanded for the work and in no wise below the cost of living as established by official investigation;

"Appropriations to carry on a campaign against venereal diseases and for public education in sex hygiene;

"Federal legislation permitting an American-born woman to retain her citizenship while resident in the United States, though married to an alien;

"And further, that an alien woman who marries an American citizen must take the obligation of citizenship before she can become a citizen.

"Economy in Administration.—We believe in the budget system and we stand for economy in governmental administration. There should be a reduction in boards, committees, commissions, and offices which consume taxes and increase expenses.

"Labor and Industry.—We stand for industrial peace. We believe the time has come for the government to assume responsibility for the protection of the public against the waste and terror of industrial warfare, and to that end we demand legislation defining the rights of labor and the creation of industrial courts which will guarantee to labor and employing capital equal and exact justice, and to the general public protection against the paralysis of industry due to this warfare.

"Profiteering.—The Prohibition party pledges the nation to rid it of the profiteer and to close the door against his return. It will endeavor to eliminate all unnecessary middlemen by the encouragement of organizations among producers that will bring those who sell and those who use nearer together. It will enact and enforce laws needful to effectively prevent excessive charges by such middlemen. To this end it will demand legislation subjecting to the penalties of the criminal law all corporate officers and employes who give or carry out instructions that result in extortion; it will make it unlawful for anyone engaged in interstate commerce to make the sale of one article dependent upon the purchase of another article, and it will require such corporation to disclose to customers the difference between cost price and selling price or limit the profit that can be legally charged, as the rate of interest is now limited.

"Agriculture.—We pledge our aid to the farmers in working out a plan to equalize prices, to secure labor, and to organize a system of coöperative marketing, including public terminals, mills, and storage for the purpose of encouraging agriculture and securing for the farmer such return as will tend to increased production.

"We favor such extension of the parcel post as will further facilitate the direct traffic between the producer and consumer.

"Presidential Qualifications.—The qualifications for President

stated in the Constitution have to do with age and citizenship. We call attention to the fact that of greater importance are those not so stated, referring to moral, intellectual, and spiritual endowments. The President of the United States in his daily life, his home and family relationships, and in his official career is expected to typify the finest and best the country can produce. He is the leader of the nation. The moral force and power of his example are immeasurable. No man or woman should ever be elected to the high office who is out of harmony with the purposes of the people or who lacks sympathy with their highest and holiest ideals and with the Christian principles upon which the nation was founded.

"Law and Order.—A crying evil of the day is the general lax enforcement of law. Without obedience to law and maintenance of order our American institutions must perish.

"The Prohibition party now, as ever, pledges impartial enforcement of all law.

"Conclusion.—In this national and world crisis the Prohibition party reminds the people of its long-time faithfulness and its wisdom, proved by the many reforms which it was the first to advocate; and on its record as the oldest minority party—one which has never sold its birthright for a mess of pottage but throughout the years has stood for the best interests of the country—it asks the favorable consideration of the voters, believing that by its support they can make it necessary for all political organizations to come up to a higher level and to render a finer quality of service.

"It pledges itself resolutely to stand for the right and oppose the wrong and dauntlessly to lead in the advocacy of righteous and patriotic principles. On its record and on this declaration of principles it submits its case to the American people."

Farmer-Labor Party

The so-called "Forty-Eighters," consisting of radicals from the forty-eight States, met in Chicago on July 11, 1920. Owing to dissensions the delegates split into several factions. The most numerous element organ-

ized the new Farmer-Labor party, which on July 15 nominated Parley P. Christensen, of Utah, for President, and Max S. Hayes, of Ohio, for Vice-President.

Platform:

"Preamble.—The American Declaration of Independence, adopted July 4, 1776, states that governments are instituted to secure to the people the rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

"Democracy cannot exist unless all power is preserved to the people. The only excuse for the existence of government is to serve, not to rule, the people.

"In the United States of America the power of government, the priceless and inalienable heritage of the people, has been stolen from the people—has been seized by a few men who control the wealth of the nation and by the tools of these men, maintained by them in public office to do their bidding.

"The administrative offices of the government and Congress are controlled by the financial barons—even the courts have been prostituted,—and the people as a result of this usurpation have been reduced to economic and industrial servitude.

"Under the prevailing order in the United States wealth is monopolized by a few and the people are kept in poverty, while costs of living mount until the burden of providing the necessities of life is well-nigh intolerable.

"Having thus robbed the people first of their power and then of their wealth, the wielders of financial power, seeking new fields of exploitation, have committed the government of the United States, against the will of the people, to imperialistic policies and seek to extend these enterprises to such lengths that our nation to-day stands in danger of becoming an empire instead of a republic.

"Just emerging from a war which we said we fought to extend democracy to the ends of the earth, we find ourselves helpless while the masters of our government, who are also the masters of industry and commerce, league themselves with the masters of other nations to prevent self-determination by helpless people and to exploit and rob

them, notwithstanding that we committed ourselves to guaranty of self-government for all such peoples.

"Following the greedy spectacle of the Peace conference, the money-masters feared an awakening of the people which threatened to exact for mankind those benefits for which the war was said to have been fought. Thereupon these masters in the United States, through their puppets in public office, in an effort to stifle free discussion, stripped from the inhabitants of this land rights and liberties guaranteed under American doctrines on which this country was founded and guaranteed also by the Federal Constitution.

"These rights and liberties must be restored to the people.

"More than this must be done. All power to govern this nation must be restored to the people. This involves industrial freedom, for political democracy is only an empty phrase without industrial democracy. This cannot be done by superficial, palliative measures such as are from time to time thrown as sops to the voters by the Republican and Democratic parties. Patchwork cannot repair the destruction of democracy wrought by these two old parties. Reconstruction is necessary.

"The invisible government of the United States maintains the two old parties to confuse the voters with false issues. These parties, therefore, cannot seriously attempt reconstruction, which, to be effective, must smash to atoms the money power of the proprietors of the two old parties.

"Into this breach step the amalgamated groups of forward-looking men and women who perform useful work with hand and brain, united in the Farmer-Labor party of the United States by a spontaneous and irresistible impulse to do righteous battle for democracy against its despoilers, and more especially determined to function together because of the exceptionally brazen defiance shown by the two old parties in the selection of their candidates and the writing of their platforms in this campaign. This party, financed by its rank and file and not by big business, sets about the task of fundamental reconstruction of democracy in the United States, to restore all power to the people and to set up a governmental structure that will prevent seizure henceforth of that power by a few unscrupulous men.

"The reconstruction proposed is set forth in the following platform of national issues, to which all candidates of the Farmer-Labor party are pledged:

"1. *One Hundred Per Cent. Americanism.*—Restoration of civil liberties and American doctrines and their preservation inviolate, including free speech, free press, free assemblage, right of asylum, equal opportunity, and trial by jury; return of the Department of Justice to the functions for which it was created, to the end that laws may be enforced without favor and without discrimination; amnesty for all persons imprisoned because of their patriotic insistence upon their constitutional guarantees, industrial activities, or religious beliefs; repeal of all so-called 'espionage,' 'sedition,' and 'criminal syndicalist' laws; protection of the right of all workers to strike, and stripping from the courts of powers unlawfully usurped by them and used to defeat the people and foster big business, especially the power to issue anti-labor injunctions and to declare unconstitutional laws passed by Congress.

"To Americanize the Federal courts we demand that Federal Judges be elected for terms not to exceed four years, subject to recall.

"As Americanism means democracy, suffrage should be universal. We demand immediate ratification of the Nineteenth amendment and full, unrestricted political rights for all citizens, regardless of sex, race, color, or creed, and for civil service employees.

"Democracy demands also that the people be equipped with the instruments of the initiative, referendum, and recall, with the special provision that war may not be declared, except in cases of actual military invasion, before referring the question to a direct vote of the people.

"2. *Abolish Imperialism at Home and Abroad.*—Withdrawal of the United States from further participation (under the treaty of Versailles) in the reduction of conquered peoples to economic or political subjection to the small groups of men who manipulate the bulk of the world's wealth; refusal to permit our government to aid in the exploitation of the weaker people of the earth by these men; refusal to permit use of the agencies of our government (through dollar diplomacy or other means) by the financial interests

of our country to exploit other peoples, including emphatic refusal to go to war with Mexico at the behest of Wall Street; recognition of the elected government of the republic of Ireland and of the government established by the Russian people; denial of assistance, financial, military, or otherwise, for foreign armies invading these countries, and an embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition to be used against the Russian or Irish people; instant lifting of the blockade against Russia; recognition of every government set up by people who wrest their sovereignty from oppressors, in accordance with the right of self-determination for all peoples; abolition of secret treaties and prompt publication of all diplomatic documents received by the State department; withdrawal from imperialistic enterprises upon which we already have embarked (including the dictatorship we exercise in varying degrees over the Philippines, Hawaii, Hayti, the Dominican Republic, Porto Rico, Cuba, Samoa, and Guam), and prevention of the imposition upon the people of the United States of any form whatever of conscription, military or industrial, or of military training.

"We stand committed to a league of free peoples, organized and pledged to destruction of autocracy, militarism, and economic imperialism throughout the world, and to bring about a world-wide disarmament and open diplomacy, to the end that there shall be no more kings and no more wars.

"3. *Democratic Control of Industry.*—The right of labor to an increasing share in the responsibilities and management of industry; application of this principle to be developed in accordance with the experience of actual operation.

"4. *Public Ownership and Operation.*—Immediate repeal of the Esch-Cummins law; public ownership with democratic operation of the railroads, mines, and natural resources, including stockyards, large abbatoirs, grain elevators, water-power, and cold storage and terminal warehouses; government ownership and democratic operation of such natural resources as are in whole or in part bases of control by special interests of basic industries and monopolies, such as lands containing coal, iron, copper, oil, large water-power and commercial timber tracts, pipe-lines and oil-tanks, telegraph and tele-

phone lines, and establishment of a public policy that no land (including natural resources) and no patents shall be held out of use for speculation or to aid monopoly; establishment of national and State-owned banks where the money of the government must, and that of individuals may, be deposited; granting of credit to individuals or groups according to regulations laid down by Congress which will safeguard deposits.

"We denounce the attempt to scuttle our great government-owned merchant marine, and favor bringing ocean-going commerce to our inland ports.

"5. *Promotion of Agricultural Prosperity.*—Legislation that will effectively check and reduce the growth and evils of farm tenancy; establishment of public markets; extension of the Federal Farm Loan system, making personal credit readily available and cheap to farmers; maintenance of dependable transportation for farm products; organization of a State and national service that will furnish adequate advice and guidance to applicants for farms and to farmers already on the land; legislation to promote and protect farmers' and consumers' coöperative organizations conducted for mutual benefit; comprehensive studies of costs of production of farm and staple manufactured products and uncensored publication of facts found in such studies.

"6. *Government Finance.*—We demand that economy in governmental expenditures shall replace the extravagance that has run riot under the present administration. The governmental expenditures of the present year of peace, as already disclosed, exceed \$6,000,000,000—or six times the annual expenditures of the pre-war period. We condemn and denounce the system that has created one war millionaire for every three American soldiers killed in the war in France, and we demand that this war-acquired wealth shall be taxed in such a manner as to prevent the shifting of the burden of taxation to the shoulders of the poor in the shape of higher prices and of increased living costs.

"We are opposed, therefore, to consumption taxes and to all indirect taxation for support of current operations of the government. For support of such current operations we favor steeply

graduated income taxes, exempting individual incomes amounting to less than \$3,000 a year, with a further exemption allowance of \$300 for every child under eighteen and also for every child over eighteen who may be pursuing an education to fit himself for life. In the case of State governments and of local governments we favor taxation of land value, but not of improvements or of equipment, and also sharply graduated taxes on inheritance.

"7. *Reduce the Cost of Living.*—Stabilization of currency so that it may not fluctuate as at present, carrying the standard of living of all the people down with it when it depreciates; Federal control of the meat-packing industry; extension and perfection of the parcel post system to bring producer and consumer closer together; enforcing existing laws against profiteers, especially the big and powerful ones.

"8. *Justice to the Soldiers.*—We favor paying the soldiers of the late war, as a matter of right and not as charity, a sufficient sum to make their war pay not less than civilian earnings. We denounce the delays in payment and the inadequate compensation to disabled soldiers and sailors and their dependents, and we pledge such changes as will promptly and adequately give sympathetic recognition of their services and sacrifices.

"9. *Labor's Bill of Rights.*—During the years that labor has tried in vain to obtain recognition of the rights of the workers at the hands of the government through the agencies of the Republican and Democratic parties, the principal demands of labor have been catalogued and presented by the representatives of labor, who have gone to convention after convention of the old parties—to Congress after Congress of old-party office-holders. These conventions and sessions of Congress have from time to time included in platforms and laws a few fragments of labor's programme, carefully rewritten, however, to interpose no interference with the opposition to labor by private wielders of the power of capital. It remains for the Farmer-Labor party, the people's own party, financed by the people themselves, to pledge itself to the entire Bill of Rights of Labor, the conditions enumerated therein to be written into the laws of the land to be enjoyed by the workers, organized and unorganized, with-

out the amelioration of a single word in the program. Abraham Lincoln said: 'Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves the highest consideration.'

"We pledge the application of this fundamental principle in the enactment and administration of legislation.

"(a) The unqualified right of all workers, including civil service employes, to organize and bargain collectively with employers through such representatives of their unions as they choose.

"(b) Freedom from compulsory arbitration and all other attempts to coerce workers.

"(c) A maximum standard eight-hour day and forty-four-hour week.

"(d) Old age and unemployment payments and workmen's compensation to insure workers and their dependents against accident and disease.

"(e) Establishment and operation, through periods of depression, of governmental work on housing, road-building, reforestation, reclamation of cut-over timber, desert, and swamp lands, and development of ports, waterways, and water-power plants.

"(f) Reëducation of the cripples of industry as well as the victims of war.

"(g) Abolition of employment of children under sixteen years of age.

"(h) Complete and effective protection for women in industry, with equal pay for equal work.

"(i) Abolition of private employment, detective, and strike-breaking agencies, and extension of the Federal Free Employment service.

"(j) Prevention of exploitation of immigration and immigrants by employers.

"(k) Vigorous enforcement of the Seamen's act, and the most liberal interpretation of its provisions. The present provisions for the protection of seamen and for the safety of the travelling public must not be minimized.

"(l) Exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

"(m) A Federal Department of Education to advance democracy and effectiveness in all public school systems throughout the country, to the end that the children of workers in industrial and rural communities may have maximum opportunity of training to become unafraid, well-informed citizens of a free country."

Single Tax Party

The Single Tax delegates in attendance at the convention of Forty-Eighters left that body and held a separate convention, Chicago, July 12, 1920, which nominated for President Robert C. Macauley, of Pennsylvania, and for Vice-President Richard C. Barnum, of Ohio.

Platform:

"We, the Single Tax party, in national convention assembled, recognizing that the earth was created for all the people for all time, and that all have an equal and inalienable right to live on it and to produce from it the things that they require for their welfare and happiness; recognizing that all wealth, whatever its form, is produced only by labor applied to land, or to the products of land, and that the denial of the equal access to land is a denial of the right to produce, and thus a denial of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence; recognizing further that under our tax laws and our system of land tenure a small number of the people own most of the land of our country, and exact tribute in the form of ground rent from all the rest of the people in exchange for the mere permission to work and produce, thus not only reaping where they have not sown but also holding idle the greater part of the earth's surface and restricting the amount of wealth we otherwise easily could and would produce; recognizing further that the value of the land, as expressed in its ground rentals or in its capitalized selling price, is a community value created by the presence of the people and, therefore, belongs to the people and not to the individuals;

"We, therefore, demand that the full rental value of the land be collected by the government instead of all taxes, and that all buildings, implements, and improvements on land, all industry, thrift, and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes, and every product of labor be entirely exempt from taxation. And we pledge ourselves that, if entrusted with the power to do so, we will express in law and enforce to the utmost such measures as will make effective these demands to the end that involuntary poverty and want may be abolished and economic and civic freedom for all be assured."

Socialist Party

Convention held in New York, May 8-15, 1920.

For President the nominee was Eugene V. Debs, an inmate of the Federal prison at Atlanta, Georgia, having been convicted and sentenced to a ten years' term for violation of the Espionage act by his public utterances at Canton, Ohio, in July, 1918. After Debs's nomination a delegation of Socialists requested President Wilson to pardon him, but without success.

For Vice-President, Seymour Stedman, of Chicago.

Platform:

"In the national campaign of 1920 the Socialist party calls upon all American workers of hand and brain, and upon all citizens who believe in political liberty and social justice, to free the country from the oppressive misrule of the old political parties, and to take the government into their own hands under the banner and upon the program of the Socialist party. The outgoing administration, like Democratic and Republican administrations of the past, leaves behind it a disgraceful record of solemn pledges unscrupulously broken and public confidence ruthlessly betrayed. It obtained the suffrage of the people on a platform of peace, liberalism, and social betterment, but drew the country into a devastating war and inaugurated a regime of despotism, reaction, and oppression unsurpassed in the annals of

the republic. It promised to the American people a treaty which would assure to the world a reign of international right and true democracy: it gave its sanction and support to an infamous pact formulated behind closed doors by predatory elder statesmen of European and Asiatic imperialism. Under this pact territories have been annexed against the will of their populations and cut off from their sources of sustenance; nations seeking their freedom in the exercise of the much heralded right of self-determination have been brutally fought with armed force, intrigue, and starvation blockades.

"To the millions of young men who staked their lives on the field of battle, to the people of the country who gave unstintingly of their toil and property to support the war, the Democratic administration held out the sublime ideal of a union of peoples of the world organized to maintain perpetual peace among nations on the basis of justice and freedom. It helped create a reactionary alliance of imperialistic governments, banded together to bully weak nations, crush working-class governments, and perpetuate strife and warfare. While thus furthering the ends of reaction, violence, and oppression abroad, our administration suppressed the cherished and fundamental rights and civil liberties at home. Upon the pretext of war-time necessity, the Chief-Executive of the republic and the appointed heads of his administration were clothed with dictatorial powers (which were often exercised arbitrarily), and Congress enacted laws in open and direct violation of the constitutional safeguards of freedom of expression. Hundreds of citizens who raised their voices for the maintenance of political and industrial rights during the war were indicted under the Espionage law, tried in an atmosphere of prejudice and hysteria, and many of them now serving inhumanly long jail sentences for daring to uphold the traditions of liberty which once were sacred in this country. Agents of the Federal government unlawfully raided homes and meeting-places and prevented or broke up peaceful gatherings of citizens.

"The Postmaster-General established a censorship of the press more autocratic than that ever tolerated in a regime of absolutism, and has harassed and destroyed publications on account of their advanced political and economic views, by excluding them from the

mails. And after the war was in fact long over, the administration has not scrupled to continue a policy of repression and terrorism under the shadow and hypocritical guise of war-time measures.

"It has practically imposed involuntary servitude and peonage on a large class of American workers by denying them the right to quit work and coercing them into acceptance of inadequate wages and onerous conditions of labor. It has dealt a foul blow to the traditional American right of asylum by deporting hundreds of foreign-born workers by administrative order, on the mere suspicion of harboring radical views and often for the sinister purpose of breaking labor strikes. In the short span of three years our self-styled liberal administration has succeeded in undermining the very foundation of political liberty and economic rights which this republic has built up in more than a century of struggle and progress. Under the cloak of a false and hypocritical patriotism and under the protection of governmental terror the Democratic administration has given the ruling classes unrestrained license to plunder the people by intensive exploitation of labor, by the extortion of enormous profits, and by increasing the cost of all necessities of life. Profiteering has become reckless and rampant, billions have been coined by the capitalists out of the suffering and misery of their fellow-men. The American financial oligarchy has become a dominant factor in the world, while the condition of the American workers has grown more precarious.

"The responsibility does not rest upon the Democratic party alone. The Republican party, through its representatives in Congress and otherwise, has not only openly condoned the political misdeeds of the last three years but has sought to outdo its Democratic rival in the orgy of political reaction and repression. Its criticism of the Democratic administrative policy is that it is not reactionary and drastic enough.

"America is now at the parting of the roads. If the outraging of political liberty and concentration of economic power into the hands of the few is permitted to go on, it can have only one consequence, the reduction of the country to a state of absolute capitalist despotism. We particularly denounce the militaristic policy of both old parties, of investing countless hundreds of millions of dollars in armaments

after the victorious completion of what was to have been the 'last war.' We call attention to the fatal results of such a program in Europe, carried on prior to 1914 and culminating in the Great War; we declare that such a policy, adding unbearable burdens to the working class and to all the people, can lead only to the complete Prussianization of the nation, and ultimately to war; and we demand immediate and complete abandonment of this fatal program. The Socialist party sounds the warning. It calls upon the people to defeat both parties at the polls, and to elect the candidates of the Socialist party to the end of restoring political democracy and bringing about a complete industrial freedom.

"The Socialist party of the United States therefore summons all who believe in this fundamental doctrine to prepare for a complete reorganization of our social system, based upon public ownership of public necessities; upon government by representatives chosen from occupational as well as from geographical groups, in harmony with our industrial development and with citizenship based on service, that we may end forever the exploitation of class by class. To achieve this end the Socialist party pledges itself to the following program:

"1. *Social*.—1. All business vitally essential for the existence and welfare of the people, such as railroads, express service, steamship lines, telegraphs, mines, oil wells, power plants, elevators, packing houses, cold storage plants, and all industries operating on a national scale, should be taken over by the nation.

"2. All publicly-owned industries should be administered jointly by the government and representatives of the workers, not for revenue or profit, but with the sole object of securing just compensation and humane conditions of employment to the workers and efficient and reasonable service to the public.

"3. All banks should be acquired by the government and incorporated in a unified public banking system.

"4. The business of insurance should be taken over by the government and should be extended to include insurance against accident, sickness, invalidity, old age, and unemployment, without contribution on the part of the worker.

"5. Congress should enforce the provisions of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments with reference to the negroes, and effective Federal legislation should be enacted to secure to the negroes full civil, political, industrial, and educational rights.

"II. *Industrial*.—1. Congress should enact effective laws to abolish child labor, to fix minimum wages based on an ascertained cost of a decent standard of life, to protect migratory and unemployed workers from oppression, to abolish detective and strike-breaking agencies, and to establish a shorter work-day in keeping with increased industrial productivity.

"III. *Political*.—1. The constitutional freedom of speech, press, and assembly should be restored by repealing the Espionage law and all other repressive legislation, and by prohibiting the executive usurpation of authority.

"2. All prosecutions under the Espionage law should be discontinued, and all persons serving prison sentences for alleged offenses growing out of religious beliefs, political views, or industrial activities should be fully pardoned and immediately released.

"3. No alien should be deported from the United States on account of his political views or participation in labor struggles, nor in any event without proper trial on specific charges. The arbitrary power to deport aliens by administrative order should be repealed.

"4. The power of the courts to restrain workers in their struggles against employers by the writ of injunction or otherwise, and their power to nullify Congressional legislation, should be abrogated.

"5. Federal Judges should be elected by the people and be subject to recall.

"6. The President and the Vice-President of the United States should be elected by direct popular election, and be subject to recall. All members of the cabinet should be elected by Congress and be responsible at all times to the vote thereof.

"7. Suffrage should be equal and unrestricted, in fact as well as in law, for all men and women throughout the nation.

"8. Because of the strict residential qualification of suffrage in this country, millions of citizens are disfranchised in every election;

adequate provision should be made for the registration and voting of migratory voters.

"9. The Constitution of the United States should be amended to strengthen the safeguards of civil and political liberty, and to remove all obstacles to industrial and social reform and reconstruction, including the changes enumerated in this program, in keeping with the will and interest of the people. It should be made amendable by a majority of the voters of the nation upon their own initiative, or upon the initiative of Congress.

"IV. *Foreign Relations*.—1. All claims of the United States against Allied countries for loans made during the war should be cancelled upon the understanding that all war debts among such countries shall likewise be cancelled. The largest possible credit in food, raw materials, and machinery should be extended to the stricken nations of Europe in order to help them rebuild the ruined world.

"2. The government of the United States should initiate a movement to dissolve the mischievous organization called the 'League of Nations' and to create an international parliament, composed of democratically elected representatives of all nations of the world, based upon the recognition of their equal rights, the principles of self-determination, the right to national existence of colonies and other dependencies, freedom of international trade and trade routes by land and sea, and universal disarmament, and be charged with revising the treaty of peace on the principles of justice and conciliation.

"3. The United States should immediately make peace with the Central powers and open commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia under the Soviet government. It should promptly recognize the independence of the Irish republic.

"4. The United States should make and proclaim it a fixed principle in its foreign policy that American capitalists who acquire concessions or make investments in foreign countries do so at their own risk, and under no circumstances should our government enter into diplomatic negotiations or controversies or resort to armed conflicts on account of foreign property claims of American capitalists.

"V. *Fiscal*.—1. All war debts and other debts of the Federal

government should immediately be paid in full, the funds of such payment to be raised by means of a progressive property tax whose burden should fall upon the rich and particularly upon great fortunes made during the war.

"2. A standing progressive income tax and a graduated inheritance tax should be levied to provide for all needs of the government, including the cost of its increasing social and industrial functions.

"3. The unearned increment of land should be taxed; all land held out of use should be taxed at full rental value."

The following "Declaration of Socialist Principles" was adopted by the convention :

"The Socialist party of the United States demands that the country and its wealth be redeemed from the control of private interests and turned over to the people to be administered for the equal benefit of all.

"America is not owned by the American people. Our so-called national wealth is not the wealth of the nation, but of the privileged few.

"These are the ruling classes of America. They are small in numbers but they dominate the lives and shape the destinies of their fellow-men.

"They own the people's jobs and determine their wages; they control the markets of the world and fix the prices of farm products; they own their own homes and fix their rents; they own their food and set its cost; they own their press and formulate their convictions; they own the government and make their laws; they own their schools and mould their minds.

"Around and about the capitalist class cluster the numerous and varied groups of the population generally designated as the 'middle class.' They consist of farm-owners, small merchants and manufacturers, professional and better paid employes. Their economic status is often precarious. They live in hopes of being lifted into the charmed spheres of the ruling classes. Their social psychology is that of retainers of the wealthy. As a rule they sell their gifts,

knowledge, and efforts to the capitalist interests. They are staunch upholders of the existing order of social inequalities.

"The bulk of the American people is composed of workers. Workers on the farm and in the factory, in mines and mills, on ships and railroads, in offices and counting-houses, in schools and in personal service, workers of hand and brain, all men and women who render useful service to the community in the countless ramified ways of modern civilization. They have made America what it is. They sustain America from day to day. They bear most of the burdens of life and enjoy but few of its pleasures. They create the enormous wealth of the country, but live in constant dread of poverty. They feed and clothe the rich, and yet bow to their alleged superiority. They keep alive the industries, but have no say in their management. They constitute the majority of the people, but have no control in the government. Despite the forms of political equality the workers of the United States are virtually a subject class.

"The Socialist party is the party of the workers. It espouses their cause because in the workers lies the hope of the political, economic, and social redemption of the country. The ruling class and their retainers cannot be expected to change the iniquitous system of which they are the beneficiaries. Individual members of these classes often join in the struggle against the capitalist order from motives of personal idealism, but whole classes have never been known to abdicate their rule and surrender their privileges for the mere sake of social justice. The workers alone have a direct and compelling interest in abolishing the present profit system.

"The Socialist party desires the workers of America to take the economic and political power from the capitalist class, not that they may establish themselves as a new ruling class, but in order that all class divisions may be abolished forever.

"To perform this supreme social task the workers must be organized as a political party of their own. They must realize that both the Republican and Democratic parties are the political instruments of the master classes, and equally pledged to uphold and perpetuate capitalism. They must be trained to use the ballot-box to vote out the tools of the capitalist and middle classes and to vote in repre-

sentatives of the workers. A true political party of labor must be founded upon the uncompromising demand for the complete socialization of the industries. That means doing away with the private ownership of the sources and instruments of wealth production and distribution, abolishing workless incomes in the form of profits, interest, or rents, transforming the whole able-bodied population of the country into useful workers, and securing to all workers the full social value of their work.

"The Socialist party is such a political party. It strives by means of political methods, including the action of its representatives in the Legislatures and other public offices, to force the enactment of such measures as will immediately benefit the workers, raise their standard of life, increase their power, and stiffen their resistance to capitalist aggression. Its purpose is to secure a majority in Congress and in every State Legislature, to win the principal executive and judicial offices, to become the dominant and controlling party, and when in power to transfer to the ownership by the people of industries, beginning with those of a public character, such as banking, insurance, mining, transportation, and communication, as well as the trustified industries, and extending the process to all other industries susceptible of collective ownership as rapidly as their physical conditions will permit.

"It also proposes to socialize the system of public education and health, and all activities and institutions vitally affecting the public needs and welfare, including dwelling-houses.

"The Socialist program advocates the socialization of all large farming estates and land used for industrial and public purposes, as well as all instrumentalities for storing, preserving, and marketing farm products. It does not contemplate interference with the private possession of land actually used and cultivated by occupants.

"The Socialist party when in political control proposes to reorganize the government in form and substance so as to change it from a tool of repression into an instrument of social and industrial service. It affirms a fundamental truth of the American Declaration of Independence, that when a government fails to serve us, or becomes destructive of human happiness, 'It is the right of the people to alter or

abolish it and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.'

"The socialist transformation cannot be successfully accomplished by political victories alone. The reorganization of the industries upon the basis of social operation and coöperative effort will require an intelligent and disciplined working class, skilled not only in the processes of physical work but also in the technical problems of management. This indispensable training the workers can best gain as a result of their constant efforts to secure a greater share in the management of industries through their labor unions and coöperatives. These economic organizations of labor have also an immediate practice and vital function. Their daily struggles for betterment in the sphere of their respective industries supplement and reinforce the political efforts of the Socialist party in the same general direction, and their great economic power may prove a formidable weapon for safeguarding the political rights of labor.

"The Socialist party does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of labor unions, but will always support them in their economic struggle. In order, however, that such struggle might attain the maximum of efficiency and success, the Socialists favor the organization of workers along lines of industrial unionism in closest organic coöperation as an organized working-class body.

"The Socialist party does not seek to interfere with the institution of the family as such, but promises to make family life fuller, nobler, and happier by removing the sordid factor of economic dependence of woman on man, and by assuring to all members of the family greater material security and more leisure to cultivate the joys of the home.

"The Socialist party adheres strictly to the principle of complete separation of state and church. It recognizes the right of voluntary communities of citizens to maintain religious institutions and to worship according to the dictates of their conscience.

"The Socialist party seeks to attain its end by orderly and constitutional methods so long as the ballot-box, the right of representation, and civil liberties are maintained. Violence is not the weapon of the Socialist party but of the short-sighted representatives of the ruling

classes, who stupidly believe that social movements and ideals can be destroyed by brutal physical repression. The Socialists depend upon education and organization of the masses.

"The domination of the privileged classes has been so strong that they have succeeded in persuading their credulous fellow-citizens that they, the despoilers of America, are the only true Americans; that their selfish class interests are the sacred interests of the nation; that only those that submit supinely to their oppressive rule are loyal and patriotic citizens, and that all who oppose their exactions and pretensions are traitors to their country.

"The Socialists emphatically reject this fraudulent notion of patriotism.

"The Socialist party gives its service and allegiance to the mass of the American people, the working classes, but this interest is not limited to America alone. In modern civilization the destinies of all nations are inextricably interwoven. No nation can be prosperous and happy while its neighbors are poor and miserable. No nation can be truly free if other nations are enslaved. The ties of international interdependence and solidarity are particularly vital among the working classes. In all the advanced countries of the world the working classes are engaged in the identical struggle for political and economic freedom, and the success or failure of each is immediately reflected upon the progress and fortunes of all.

"The Socialist party is opposed to militarism and to wars among nations. Modern wars are generally caused by commercial and financial rivalries and intrigues of the capitalist interests in different countries. They are made by the ruling classes and fought by the masses. They bring wealth and power to the privileged few and suffering, death, and desolation to the many. They cripple the struggles of the workers for political rights, material improvement, and social justice, and tend to sever the bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries.

"The Socialist movement is a world struggle in behalf of human civilization. The Socialist party of the United States coöperates with similar parties in other countries and extends to them its full support in their struggles, confident that the class-conscious workers all over

the world will eventually secure the powers of government in their respective countries, abolish the oppression and chaos, the strife and bloodshed of international capitalism, and establish a federation of socialist republics coöperating with each other for the benefit of the human race and for the maintenance of the peace of the world."

The convention voted to commit the Socialist party to adherence to the "Third Internationale"—the Moscow organization dominated by Lenin, Trotsky, and the "Soviet" dictatorship of Russia. On this subject, however, the action taken was limited to a simple declaration of affiliation without commitment to any specific means for establishing the socialistic "international" commonwealth. A substitute proposal, designed to give sanction to extreme measures, such as the "dictatorship" of the "proletariat," was voted down by 90 to 40.

Socialist Labor Party

This party held its fifteenth national convention in New York, May 5-10, 1920. For President, William W. Cox, of Illinois; for Vice-President, August Gillhaus, of New York.

Throughout its career the Socialist Labor party has been consistently opposed to all expedients and compromises in the fight to establish the extreme program of socialism. It is frankly revolutionary and especially rejects the notions that trades-union development or mere politic action for the sake of securing votes are either consistent with its objects or desirable in themselves even if seemingly accomplishing a measure of

success. The convention reaffirmed the party declaration of 1916, as follows:

"Whereas, There exist to-day in the United States two conceptions of what an economic organization of labor should be; and

"Whereas, One conception—that held by the American Federation of Labor and kindred unions—is that the organization should concede the right of capitalists to own and control industry, and should be built upon narrow craft lines for the sole purpose of protecting its members in their employment and of securing petty improvements in the conditions of labor—thus becoming a mere 'watch-your-job-and-boost-your-pay' organization; and

"Whereas, The other conception—that held only by the Workers' International Industrial Union—is that the economic organization of labor should deny the right of capitalism to continue in the ownership and control of industry and that it should be built upon industrial lines, not only with the aim of more efficiently coöperating in the daily struggle against the employing class but for the supreme purpose of taking possession of the industries and operating them in the interests of society as a whole; and

"Whereas, Neutrality toward economic organizations of labor on the part of a political party of socialism is equivalent to neutrality toward organizations that endorse and support the system of private ownership of the social means of producing wealth, the system which the party is fighting; and

"Whereas, The bona fide or revolutionary socialist movement needs the economic as well as the political organization of labor—the latter for propaganda and as a civilized means of registering public opinion through the ballot, the former as the only conceivable organized force without which all ballot is impotent, and which force is essential for ultimately locking out the capitalist class from the industries; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Socialist Labor party do all in its power to show the fallacy of craft unionism, and urge the workers to organize industrially on the principles of the Workers' International Industrial Union."

The Election

Electoral vote for President and Vice-President:

Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge, Republicans:—Arizona, 3; California, 13; Colorado, 6; Connecticut, 7; Delaware, 3; Idaho, 4; Illinois, 29; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 13; Kansas, 10; Maine, 6; Maryland, 8; Massachusetts, 18; Michigan, 15; Minnesota, 12; Missouri, 18; Montana, 4; Nebraska, 8; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 4; New Jersey, 14; New Mexico, 3; New York, 45; North Dakota, 5; Ohio, 24; Oklahoma, 10; Oregon, 5; Pennsylvania, 38; Rhode Island, 5; South Dakota, 5; Tennessee, 12; Utah, 4; Vermont, 4; Washington, 7; West Virginia, 8; Wisconsin, 13; Wyoming, 3. Total, 404. Elected.

James M. Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democrats:—Alabama, 12; Arkansas, 9; Florida, 6; Georgia, 14; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 10; Mississippi, 10; North Carolina, 12; South Carolina, 9; Texas, 20; Virginia, 12. Total, 127.

Popular vote:

Harding, 16,152,200; Cox, 9,147,353; Debs, 919,799; Christensen, 265,411; Watkins, 189,408; W. W. Cox (Industrialist and Socialist Labor), 31,175 (15 States); Macauley, 5,837 (9 States). In addition there were cast in Texas 47,968 votes for the American party and 27,247 for the Black and Tan Republican party; and in South Carolina 360 for Harding, Insurgent Republican party.

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